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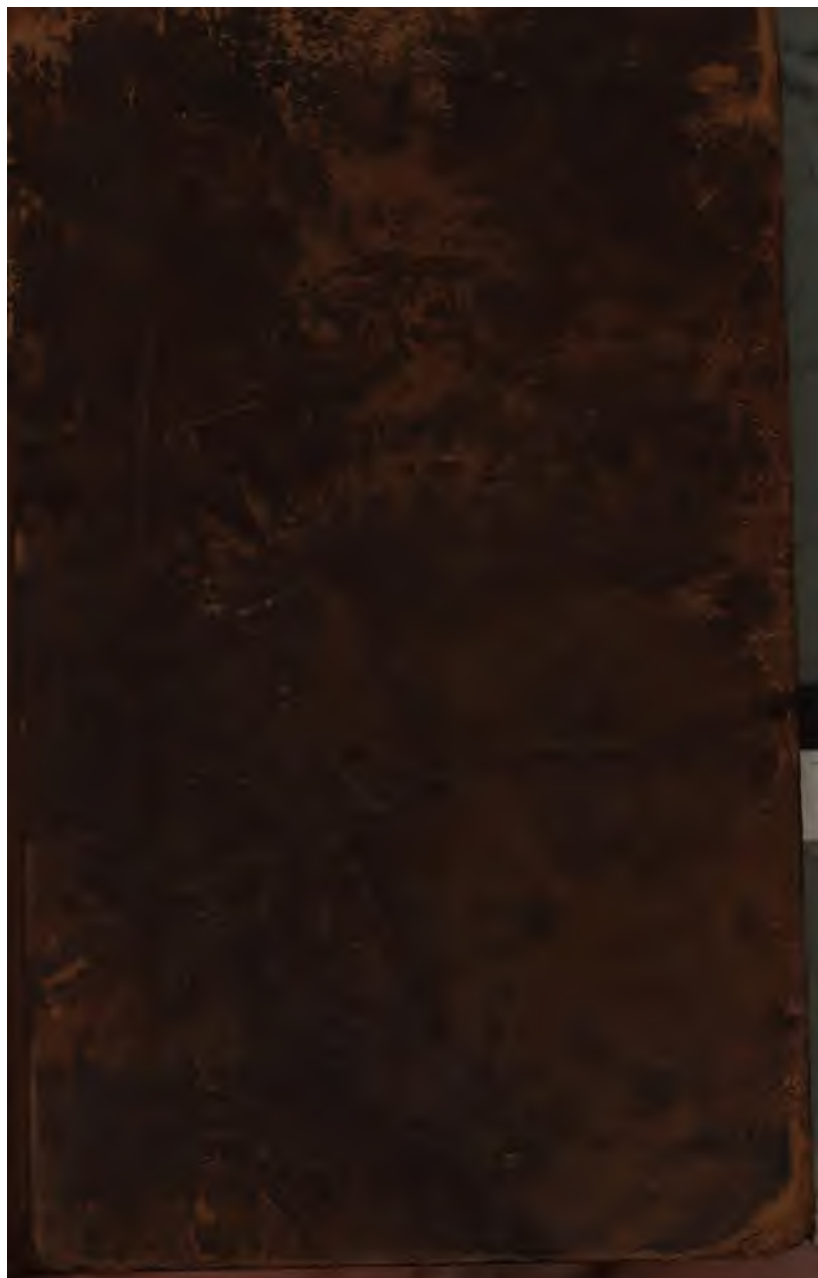
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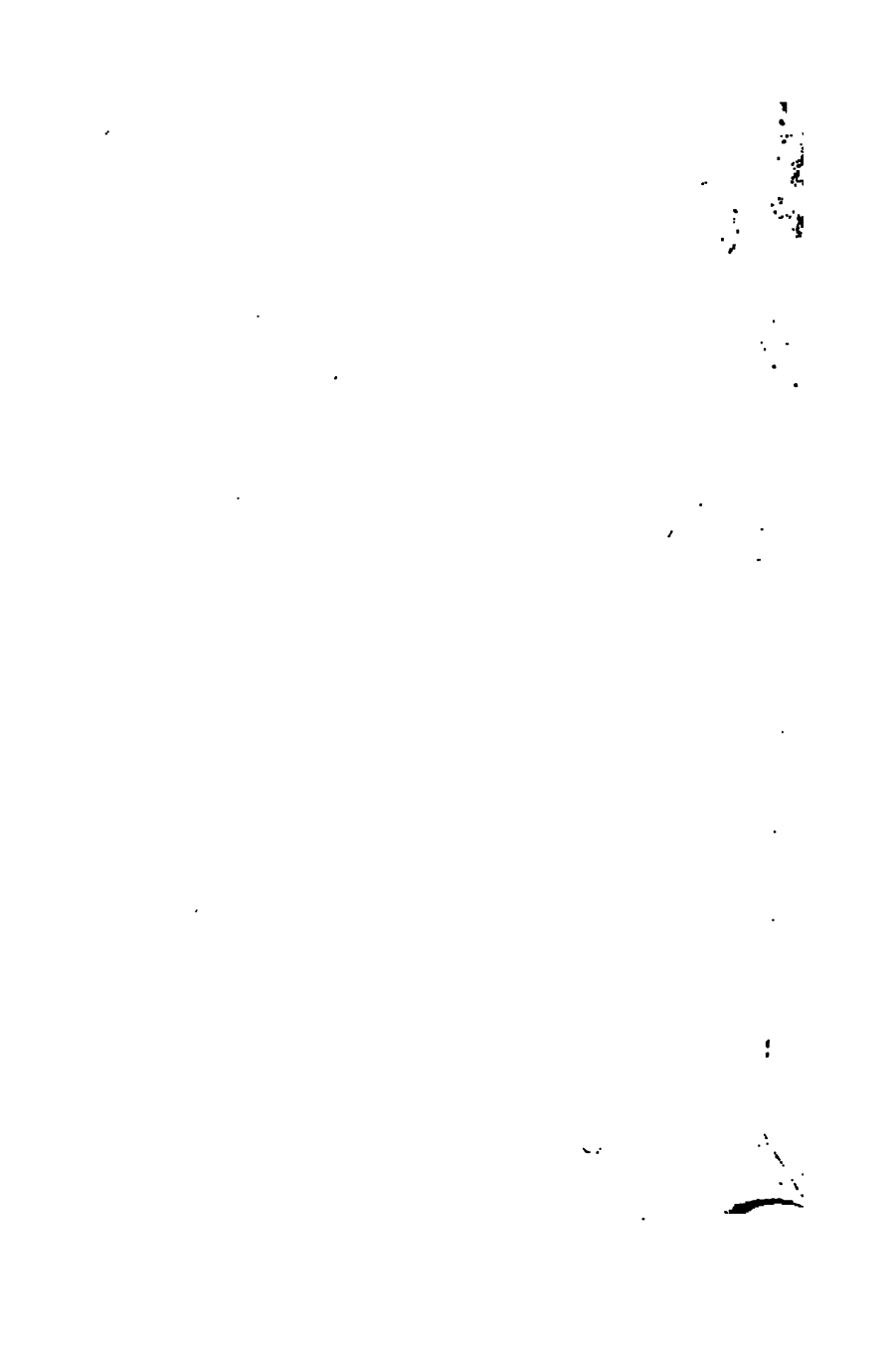
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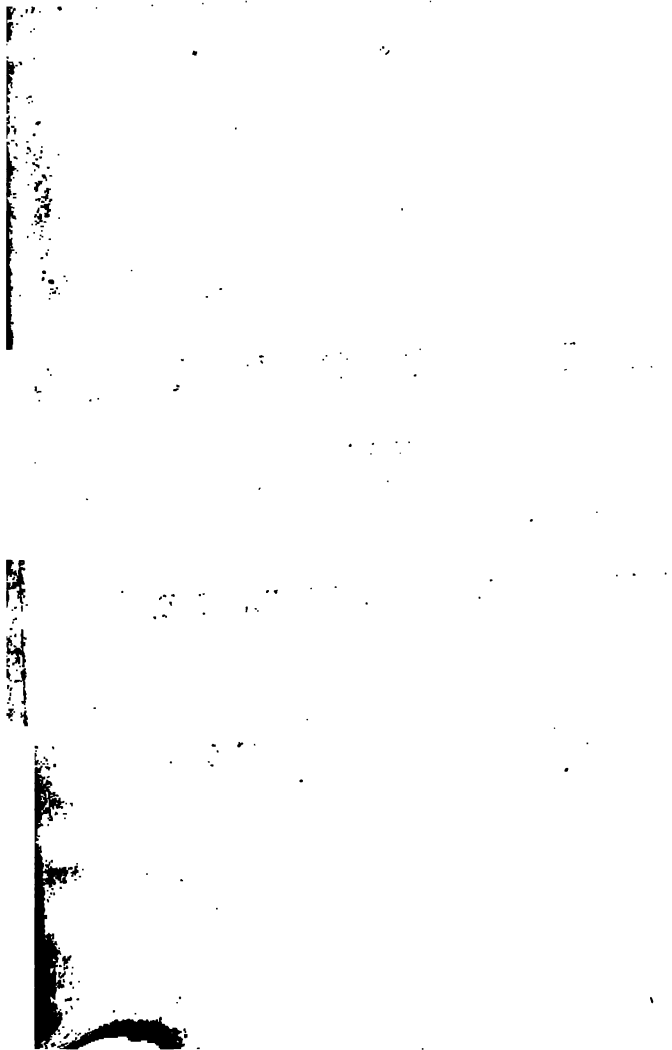
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PHILOSOPHICAL and POLITICAL
H I S T O R Y
OF THE
B R I T I S H
SETTLEMENTS AND TRADE
IN
NORTH AMERICA.



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PHILOSOPHICAL and PÖLITICAL

H I S T O R Y

O F T H E

B R I T I S H

SETTLEMENTS AND TRADE

I N

N O R T H A M E R I C A .

From the FRENCH of Abbé RAYNAL.

I N T W O V O L U M E S .

V O L . I

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C O N T E N T S

O F T H E

F I R S T V O L U M E.

INTRODUCTION, Page 1 to 29

1. First expeditions of the English in North America. 1
2. The continent of America is peopled by the religious wars that disturb England, 9
3. Parallel between the old and the new world. 12
4. Comparison between civilized people and savages, 22
5. In what state the English found North America, and what they have done there, 37

B O O K I.

BRITISH Colonies settled at HUDSON'S BAY, NEW-FOUNDLAND, NOVA SCOTIA, NEW ENGLAND, NEW YORK, and NEW JERSEY.

CHAP. I. OF HUDSON'S BAY. 29 to 42.

1. Climate. Customs of the inhabitants. Trade. 29
2. Whether there is a passage at Hudson's Bay leading to the East Indies, 37

CHAP. II. OF NEWFOUNDLAND, 42 to 57

1. Description, 42
2. Fisheries, 46

C O N T E N T S.

CHAP. III. Of NOVA SCOTIA, 57 to 69

1. The French give up Nova Scotia to Britain, after having been a long time in possession of it themselves. 57
2. Manners of the French who remained subject to the British government in Nova Scotia, 62
3. Present state of Nova Scotia. 66

CHAP. IV. Of NEW ENGLAND, 69 to 86

1. Foundation, 69
2. Fanaticism occasions great calamities there, 72
3. Government, population, cultures, manufactures, trade and navigation, 77

CHAP. V. Of NEW YORK and NEW JERSEY, 86 to 98

1. New York, founded by the Dutch, passes into the hands of the English, 86
2. Flourishing state of New York, Causes of its prosperity. 89
3. In what manner New Jersey fell into the hands of the English. Its present state. 94

B O O K II.

BRITISH COLONIES founded in PENNSYLVANIA, MARYLAND, VIRGINIA, CAROLINA, GEORGIA, and FLORIDA.

CHAP. I Of PENNSYLVANIA, 98 to 124

1. The Quakers found Pennsylvania. Manners of that sect, 98
2. Upon what principles Pennsylvania was founded, 105
3. Extent, climate, and soil, of Pennsylvania. Its prosperity 109

C O N T E N T S.

CHAP. II. Of VIRGINIA and MARYLAND,	124 to 143
1. Wretched state of Virginia at its first settlement,	124
2. Administration of Virginia,	128
3. Maryland is detached from Virginia,	133
4. Virginia and Maryland cultivate the same productions,	136
5. Of the Tobacco-trade,	139
CHAP. III. Of CAROLINA,	143 to 155
1. Origin of Carolina,	143
2. System of religious and civil government established by Locke in Carolina,	144
3.- Climate and produce of Carolina,	148
CHAP. IV. Of GEORGIA,	155 to 162
1. Foundation of Georgia,	155
2. Impediments that have prevented the progress of Georgia,	158
CHAP. V. Of FLORIDA,	162 to 170
1. History. Its cession from the Spaniards to the British,	162
2. By what means Britain may render Florida useful to her,	167



C O N T E N T S

O F T H E

S E C O N D V O L U M E .

B O O K I I I .

O F C A N A D A , a c q u i r e d f r o m t h e F R E N C H .

CHAP. I. General face of the country. Climate. Government, customs, virtues and vices of the Indians,	Page 172
CHAP. II. Wars of the Indians. The colonists embroil themselves therein,	202
CHAP. III. Of the Furs,	205
CHAP. IV. In what places, and what manner, the fur-trade was carried on,	219
CHAP. V. State of Canada at the peace of Utrecht,	225
CHAP. VI. Population agriculture. manners, government fisheries, industry, and revenues of Canada,	226
CHAP. VII. Advantages which France might have derived from Canada. Errors which deprived her of them.	239
CHAP. VIII. Origin of the wars between the British and the French in Canada,	246
CHAP. IX. Conquest of Cape-Breton by the British,	248
CHAP. X. The British attack Canada,	252
CHAP. XI. Taking of Québec by the British,	259
CHAP. XII. Canada is ceded to Britain: What advantages she might derive from that possession,	263

C O N T E N T S.

B O O K IV.

General REFLECTIONS and REMARKS on all the COLONIES.

I. Extent of the British dominions in North America,	266
II. Trees peculiar to North America,	269
III. Birds peculiar to North America,	271
IV. The English supply North America with domestic animals,	273
V. European grain carried into North America by the English,	274
VI. The English find the necessity of having their naval stores from North America,	275
VII. England begins to get iron from North America,	279
VIII. England endeavours to procure wine and silk from North America,	281
IX. What kind of men Britain peoples her North-American colonies with,	284
X. Present state of population in the British provinces of North America,	296
XI. Happiness of the inhabitants in the British colonies of North America,	298
XII. What kind of government is established in the British colonies of North America,	300
XIII. The coin current in the British colonies of North America,	309
XIV. The British colonies in North America are shackled in their industry and commerce,	317
XV. Of the Taxation of the Colonies,	316
I. The mother country has attempted to establish taxes in her colonies of North America: Whether she had a right to do this,	ib.

C O N T E N T S.

2. Whether the colonies should submit to be taxed 325
3. How far the colonies ought to carry their opposition to taxation, 329
4. Whether it would be of use to the colonies to break thro' the ties which unite them to the mother country, 332
5. Whether it would be proper for the European nations to endeavour to render the British colonies independent of the mother country, 333

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H I S T O R Y
O F T H E
B R I T I S H
Settlements and Trade in AMERICA.

I N T R O D U C T I O N .

I. FIRST EXPEDITIONS OF THE ENGLISH IN
NORTH-AMERICA.

E NGLAND was only known in America by her Piracies, which were often successful and always brilliant, when Sir Walter Raleigh conceived a project to make his nation partake of the prodigious riches which for near a century past flowed from that hemisphere into ours. That great man, who was born for bold undertakings, cast his eye on the eastern coast of North-America. The talent he had for subduing the mind by representing all his proposals in a striking light, soon procured him associates, both at court and amongst the merchants. The company that was formed upon the allurements of his magnificent promises, obtained of government, in 1584, the absolute disposal of all the discoveries that should be made; and without any further en-

couragement, they fitted out two ships in April following, that anchored in Roanoak bay, which now makes a part of Carolina. Their commanders, worthy of the trust reposed in them, behaved with remarkable affability in a country where they wanted to settle their nation, and left the savages to make their own terms in the trade they proposed to open with them.

Every thing that these successful navigators reported on their return to Europe, concerning the temperature of the climate, the fertility of the soil, and the disposition of the inhabitants, encouraged the society to proceed. They accordingly sent seven ships the following spring, which landed a hundred and eight free men at Roanoak, for the purpose of commencing a settlement. Part of them were murdered by the savages, whom they had insulted; and the rest, having been so improvident as to neglect the culture of the land, were perishing with misery and hunger, when a deliverer came to their assistance.

This was Sir Francis Drake, so famous among seamen for being the next after Magellan who sailed round the globe. The abilities he had shewn in that grand expedition induced queen Elizabeth to make choice of him to humble Philip II. in that part of his domains which he made use of to disturb the peace of other nations. Few orders were ever more punctually executed. The English fleet seized upon St Jago, Carthagena, St Domingo, and several other important places; and took a great many rich ships. His instructions were, that, after these operations, he should proceed and offer his assistance to the colony at Roanoak. The wretched few, who had survived the numberless calamities that had befallen them, were in such despair, that they refused all assistance, and only begged he would convey them to their
native

native country. The admiral complied with their request; and thus the expences that had been disbursed till that time were lost.

The associates, however, were not discouraged by this unforeseen event. From time to time they sent over a few colonists, who by the year 1589 amounted to a hundred and fifty persons of both sexes, under a regular government, and fully provided with all they wanted for their defence, and for the purposes of agriculture and commerce. These beginnings raised some expectations, but they were lost in the disgrace of Raleigh, who fell a victim to the caprices of his own wild imagination. The colony, having lost its founder, was totally forgotten.

It had been thus neglected for twelve years, when Gosnold, one of the first associates, resolved to visit it in 1602. His experience in navigation made him suspect, that the right track had not been found out; and that, in steering by the Canary and Caribbee islands, the voyage had been made longer than it need have been by above a thousand leagues. These conjectures induced him to steer away from the south, and to turn more westward. The attempt succeeded; but when he reached the American coast, he found himself further north than any who had gone before. The region where he landed, since included in New-England, afforded him plenty of beautiful furs, with which he sailed back to England.

The speed and success of this undertaking made a strong impression upon the English merchants. Several joined in 1606 to form a settlement in the country that Gosnold had discovered. Their example recalled to others the remembrance of Roanoak; and this gave rise to two charter companies. As the continent where they were to exercise their monopoly was then known in England only by the general name

4 HISTORY OF THE BRITISH

of Virginia, the one was called the South Virginia, and the other the North Virginia Company.

The first zeal soon abated, and there appeared to be more jealousy than emulation between the two companies. Though they had been favoured with the first lottery that ever was drawn in England, their progress was so slow, that in 1614 there were not above four hundred persons in both settlements. That sort of competency which was sufficient for the simplicity of the manners of the times, was then so general in England, that no one was tempted to go abroad by the prospect of a fortune. It is a sense of misfortune, still more than the thirst of riches, that gives men a dislike to their native country. Nothing less than an extraordinary ferment could then have peopled even an excellent country. This was at length brought about by superstition, and excited by the collision of religious opinions.

2. *The continent of America is peopled by the religious wars that disturb England.*

THE first priests of the Britons were the Druids, so famous in the annals of Gaul. To throw a mysterious veil upon the ceremonies of a savage worship, their rites were never performed but in dark recesses, and generally in gloomy groves, where fear creates spectres and apparitions. Only a few persons were initiated into these mysteries, and intrusted with the sacred doctrines; and even these were not allowed to commit any thing to writing upon this important subject, lest their secrets should fall into the hands of the profane vulgar. The altars of a formidable deity were stained with the blood of human victims, and enriched with the most precious spoils of war. Though the dread of the vengeance of heaven was the only guard of these treasures, they

they were always revered by avarice, which the Druids had artfully repressed by the fundamental doctrine of the endless transmigration of the soul. The chief authority of government resided in the ministers of that terrible religion; because men are more powerfully and more lastingly swayed by opinion than by any other motive. The education of youth was in their hands; and the ascendancy they assumed at that period remained through the rest of life. They took cognizance of all civil and criminal causes, and were as absolute in their decisions on state affairs as on the private differences between man and man. Whoever dared to resist their decrees, was not only excluded from all participation in the divine mysteries, but even from the society of men. It was accounted a crime and a reproach to hold any converse or to have any dealings with him; he was irrevocably deprived of the protection of the laws, and nothing but death could put an end to his miseries. The history of human superstitions affords no instance of any one so tyrannical as that of the Druids. It was the only one that provoked the Romans to use severity, as none opposed the power of those conquerors with such violence as the Druids.

That religion, however, had lost much of its influence, when it was totally banished by Christianity in the seventh century. The northern nations, that had successively invaded the southern provinces of Europe, had found there the seeds of that new religion, in the ruins of an empire that was falling on all sides. Whether it was owing to their indifference for their distant gods, or to their ignorance which was easily persuaded, they readily embraced a worship which from the multiplicity of its ceremonies could not but attract the notice of rude and savage men. The Saxons, who after-

6 HISTORY OF THE BRITISH

wards invaded England, followed their example, and adopted without difficulty a religion that secured their conquest by abolishing their old forms of worship.

The effects were such as might be expected from a religion, the original simplicity of which was at that time so much disfigured. Idle contemplations were soon substituted in lieu of active and social virtues; and a stupid veneration for unknown saints, to the worship of the Supreme Being. Miracles dazzled the eyes of men, and diverted them from attending to natural causes. They were taught to believe that prayers and offerings would atone for the most heinous crimes. Every sentiment of reason was perverted, and every principle of morality corrupted.

Those who had been at least the promoters of this confusion, knew how to avail themselves of it. The priests obtained that respect which was denied to kings; and their persons became sacred. The magistrate had no inspection over their conduct, and they even evaded the watchfulness of the civil law. Their tribunal eluded and even superseded all others. They found means to introduce religion into every question of law, and into all state affairs, and made themselves umpires or judges in every cause. When faith spoke, every one listened, in silent attention, to its inexplicable oracles. Such was the infatuation of those dark ages, that the scandalous excesses of the clergy did not weaken their authority.

This was owing to its being already founded on great riches. As soon as the priests had taught that religion depended principally upon sacrifices, and required first of all that of fortune and earthly possessions, the nobility, who were sole proprietors of all estates, employed their slaves to build churches, and allotted their lands to the endowment of those foundations. Kings gave to the church all that they had extorted
from

from the people; and stripped themselves to such a degree, as even not to leave a sufficiency for the payment of the army, or for defraying the other charges of government. These deficiencies were never made up by those who were the cause of them. They bore no share in the maintenance of society. The payment of taxes with church-money would have been a sacrilege, and a prostitution of holy things to profane purposes. Such was the declaration of the clergy, and the laity believed them. The possession of the third part of the feudal tenures in the kingdom; the free will offerings of a deluded people, and the price set upon the priestly offices, did not satisfy the enormous avidity of the clergy, ever attentive to their own interest. They found in the Old Testament, that by divine appointment the priests had an undoubted right to the tithes of the produce of the land. This claim was so readily admitted, that they extended it to the tithe of industry, of the profits on trade, of the wages of labourers, of the pay of soldiers, and sometimes of the salaries of place-men.

Rome, who at first was a silent spectator of these proceedings, and proudly enjoyed the success that attended the rich and haughty apostles of a Saviour born in obscurity, and who died an ignominious death, soon covered a share in the spoils of England. The first step she took was to open a trade for relics, which were always ushered in with some striking miracle, and sold in proportion to the credulity of the purchasers. The great men, and even monarchs, were invited to go in pilgrimage to the capital of the world, to purchase a place in heaven suitable to the rank they held on earth. The popes by degrees assumed the presentation to church preferments, which at first they gave away, but afterwards sold. By these means their tribunal took cognizance of all ecclesiastical causes,

causes, and in time they claimed a tenth of the revenues of the clergy, who themselves levied the tenth of all the substance of the realm.

When these pious extortions were carried as far as they possibly could be in England, Rome aspired to the supreme authority over it. The frauds of her ambition were covered with a sacred veil. She sapped the foundations of liberty, but it was by employing the influence of opinion only. This was setting up men in opposition to themselves, and availing herself of their prejudices in order to acquire an absolute dominion over them. She usurped the power of a despotic judge between the altar and the throne, between the prince and his subjects, between one potentate and another. She kindled the flames of war with her spiritual thunders. But she wanted emissaries to spread the terror of her arms, and made choice of the monks for that purpose. The secular clergy, notwithstanding their celibacy, which kept them from worldly connections, had still an attachment to the world by the ties of interest, often stronger than those of blood. A set of men, secluded from society by singular institutions which must incline them to fanaticism, and by a blind submission to the dictates of a foreign pontiff, were best adapted to second the views of such a sovereign. These vile and abject tools of superstition fulfilled their fatal employment but too successfully. With their intrigues, seconded by favourable occurrences, England, which had so long withstood the conquering arms of the ancient Roman empire, became tributary to modern Rome.

At length the passions and violent caprices of Henry VIII. broke the scandalous dependence. The abuse of so infamous a power had already opened the eyes of the nation. The prince ventured at once to shake
off

off the authority of the pope, abolish monasteries, and assume the supremacy over his own church.

This open schism was followed by other alterations in the reign of Edward, son and successor to Henry. The religious opinions, which were then changing the face of Europe, were openly discussed. Something was taken from every one; many doctrines and rites of the old religion were retained; and from these several systems or tenets arose a new communion, distinguished by the name of The Church of England.

Elizabeth, who completed this important work, found theory alone too subtle; and thought it most expedient to captivate the senses, by the addition of some ceremonies. Her natural taste for grandeur, and the desire of putting a stop to the disputes about points of doctrine, by entertaining the eye with the external parade of worship, made her inclined to adopt a greater number of religious rites. But she was restrained by political considerations, and was obliged to sacrifice something to the prejudices of a party that had raised her to the throne, and was able to maintain her upon it.

Far from suspecting that James I. would execute what Elizabeth had not even dared to attempt, it might be expected that he would rather have been inclined to restrain ecclesiastical rites and ceremonies. That prince, who had been trained up in the principles of the Presbyterians, a sect who, with much spiritual pride, affected great simplicity of dress, gravity of manners, and austerity of doctrine, and loved to speak in scripture phrases, and to make use of none but scripture names for their children. One would have supposed that such an education must have prejudiced the king against the outward pomp of the catholic worship, and every thing that bore any affinity to it. But the spirit of system prevailed in him over the princi-

principles of education. Struck with the episcopal jurisdiction which he found established in England, and which he thought conformable to his own notions of civil government, he abandoned from conviction the early impressions he had received, and grew passionately fond of a hierarchy modelled upon the political oeconomy of a well constituted empire. In this enthusiasm, he wanted to introduce this wonderful discipline into Scotland, his native country; and to unite to it a great many of the English, who still dissented from it. He even intended to add the pomp of the most awful ceremonies to the majestic plan, if he could have carried his grand projects into execution. But the opposition he met with at first setting out, would not permit him to advance any further in his system of reformation. He contented himself with recommending to his son to resume his views, whenever the times should furnish a favourable opportunity; and represented the Presbyterians to him as alike dangerous to religion and to the throne.

Charles readily adopted his advice, which was but too conformable to the principles of despotism he had imbibed from Buckingham his favourite, the most corrupt of men, and the corrupter of the courtiers. To pave the way to the revolution he was meditating, he promoted several bishops to the highest dignities in the government, and conferred on them most of the offices that gave the greatest influence on public measures. Those ambitious prelates, now become the masters of a prince who had been weak enough to be guided by the instigations of others, betrayed that ambition so familiar to the clergy, of raising up ecclesiastical jurisdiction under the shadow of the royal prerogative. They multiplied the church ceremonies without end, under pretence of their being of
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apostolical institution ; and, to enforce their observance, had recourse to royal acts of arbitrary power.

It was evident that there was a settled design of restoring, in all its splendour, what the Protestants called Romish idolatry, though the most violent means should be necessary to compass it. This project gave the more umbrage, as it was supported by the prejudices and intrigues of a presumptuous queen who had brought from France an immoderate passion for popery and arbitrary power.

It can scarce be imagined what acrimony these alarming suspicions had raised in the minds of the people. Common prudence would have allowed time for the ferment to subside. But the spirit of fanaticism made choice of those troublesome times to recall every thing to the unity of the church of England, which was become more odious to the dissenters, since so many customs had been introduced into it which they considered as superstitious. An order was issued, that both kingdoms should conform to the worship and discipline of the episcopal church. This law included the Presbyterians, who then began to be called Puritans, because they professed to take the pure and simple word of God for the rule of their faith and practice. It was extended likewise to all the foreign Calvinists that were in the kingdom, whatever difference there might be in their opinions. This hierarchal worship was enjoined to the regiments, and trading companies that were in the several countries in Europe. Lastly, the English ambassadors were required to separate from all communion with the foreign protestants ; so that England lost all the influence she had abroad, as the head and support of the reformation.

In this fatal crisis, most of the Puritans were divided between submission and opposition. Those who would neither stoop to yield, nor take the pains to re-

sist,

sift, turned their views towards North-America, to seek for that civil and religious liberty which their ungrateful country denied them. The enemies of their peace attempted to shut this retreat against these devout fugitives, who wanted to worship God in their own way in a desert land. Eight ships that lay at anchor in the Thames ready to sail, were stopped; and Cromwell is said to have been detained there by that very king whom he afterwards brought to the scaffold. Enthusiasm, however, stronger than the rage of persecution, surmounted every obstacle; and that region of America was soon filled with presbyterians. The comfort they enjoyed in their retreat, gradually induced all those of their party to follow them, who were not atrocious enough to take delight in those dreadful catastrophes which soon after made England a scene of blood and horror. Many were afterwards induced to remove thither in more peaceable times, with a view to advance their fortunes. In a word, all Europe contributed greatly to increase their population. Thousands of unhappy men, oppressed by the tyranny or intolerant spirit of their sovereign, took refuge in that hemisphere. Let us now endeavour to acquire some information respecting that country.

3. *Parallel between the Old and the New World.*

It is surprising that for so long a time so little should have been known of the new world even after it was discovered. Barbarous soldiers and rapacious merchants were not proper persons to give us just and clear notions of this half of the universe. It was the province of philosophy alone to avail itself of the informations scattered in the accounts of voyagers and missionaries, in order to see America such as nature
bath

hath made it, and to investigate its affinity with the rest of the globe.

It is now pretty certain, that the new continent has not half the extent of surface as the old. On the other hand, the form of both is so singularly alike, that we might easily be seduced to draw consequences from this particular, if it were always not right to be upon our guard against the spirit of system, which often stops us in our researches after truth, and hinders us from attaining to it.

The two continents seem to form as it were two broad slips of land that begin from the arctic pole, and terminate at the tropic of Capricorn, parted on the east and west by the ocean that surrounds them. Whatever may be the structure of these two continents, and the balance or symmetry of their form, it is plain their equilibrium does not depend upon their position. It is the inconstancy of the sea that makes the solidity of the earth. To fix the globe upon its basis, it seemed necessary to have an element which, floating incessantly round our planet, might by its weight counterbalance all other substances, and by its fluidity restore that equilibrium which the conflict of the other elements might have overthrown. Water, by the motion that is natural to it, and by its gravity likewise, is infinitely better calculated to keep up that harmony and that balance of the several parts round its centre. If our hemisphere has a very wide extent of land to the north, a mass of water of equal weight at the opposite part will certainly produce an equilibrium. If under the tropics we have a rich country covered with men and animals; under the same latitude, America will have a sea full of fish. Whilst forests of trees bending under the largest fruits, the most enormous quadrupeds, the most populous nations, elephants and men, press on the surface of the

earth, and seem to absorb all its fertility throughout the torrid zone; at both poles are found the whales, with innumerable multitudes of cods and herrings, with clouds of insects, and all the infinite and prodigious tribes that inhabit the seas, as if to support the axis of the earth, and prevent its inclining or deviating to either side; if, however, elephants, whales, or men, can be said to have any weight on a globe, where all living creatures are but a transient modification of the earth that composes it. In a word, the ocean rolls over this globe to fashion it, in conformity to the general laws of gravity. Sometimes it covers and sometimes it uncovers a hemisphere, a pole, or a zone; but in general it seems to affect more particularly the equator, as the cold of the poles in some measure takes off that fluidity which constitutes its essence and imparts to it all its action. It is chiefly between the tropics that the sea spreads and is in motion, and that it undergoes the greatest change both in its regular and periodical motions, as well as in those kinds of convulsions occasionally excited in it by tempestuous winds. The attraction of the sun, and the fermentations occasioned by its continual heat in the torrid zone, must have a very remarkable influence upon the ocean. The motion of the moon adds a new force to this influence; and the sea, to yield to this double impulse, must, it should seem, flow towards the equator. The flatness of the globe towards the poles can only be ascribed to that great extent of water that has hitherto prevented our knowing any thing of the lands near the south pole. The sea cannot easily pass from within the tropics, if the temperate and frozen zones are not nearer the centre of the earth than the torrid zone. It is the sea then that constitutes the equilibrium with the land, and disposes the arrangement of the materials that compose it. One proof
that

that the two regular slips of land which the two continents of the globe present at first view are not essentially necessary to its conformation, is, that the new hemisphere has remained covered with the waters of the sea a much longer time than the old. Besides, if there is a visible affinity between the two hemispheres, there may be differences between them as striking as the similitude is, which will destroy that supposed harmony we flatter ourselves that we shall find.

When we consider the map of the world, and see the local correspondence there is between the isthmus of Suez and that of Panama, between the cape of Good Hope and cape Horn, between the Archipelago of the East-Indies and that of the Leeward Islands, and between the mountains of Chili and those of Monomotapa, we are struck with the familiarity of the several forms this picture presents. Every where we imagine we see land opposite to land, water to water, islands and peninsulas scattered by the hand of nature to serve as a counterpoise, and the sea by its fluctuation constantly maintaining the balance of the whole. But if, on the other hand, we compare the great extent of the Pacific Ocean, which parts the East and West Indies, with the small space the Ocean occupies between the coast of Guinea and that of Brasil; the vast quantity of inhabited land to the North, with the little we know towards the South; the direction of the mountains of Tartary and Europe, which is from East to west, with that of the Cordilleras which run from North to South; the mind is at a stand, and we have the mortification to see the order and symmetry vanish with which we had embellished our system of the earth. The observer is still more displeas'd with his conjectures, when he considers the immense height of the mountains of Peru. Then, indeed, he is astonish'd to see a continent so high and so lately discovered, the

sea.

sea so far below its tops, and so recently come down from the lands that seemed to be effectually defended from its attacks by those tremendous bulwarks. It is, however, an undeniable fact, that both continents of the new hemisphere have been covered with the sea. The air and the land confirm this truth.

The broad and long rivers of America; the immense forests to the South; the spacious lakes and vast morasses to the North; the eternal snows between the tropics; few of those pure sands that seem to be the remains of an exhausted ground; no men entirely black; very fair people under the line: a cool and mild air in the same latitude as the sultry and uninhabitable parts of Africa; a frozen and severe climate under the same parallel as our temperate climates; and, lastly, a difference of ten or twelve degrees in the temperature of the old and new hemispheres; these are so many tokens of a world that is still in its infancy.

Why should the continent of America be so much warmer and so much colder in proportion than that of Europe, if it were not for the moisture the ocean has left behind, by quitting it long after our continent was peopled? Nothing but the sea can possibly have prevented Mexico from being inhabited as early as Asia. If the waters that still moisten the bowels of the earth in the new hemisphere had not covered its surface, man would very early have cut down the woods, drained the fens, consolidated a soft and watery soil by stirring it up and exposing it to the rays of the sun, opened a free passage to the winds, and raised dikes along the rivers: in short, the climate would have been totally altered by this time. But a rude and unpeopled hemisphere denotes a recent world when the sea, rolling in the neighbourhood of its coasts, still flows obscurely in its channels. The sun less scorching, more plentiful rains, and thicker and more stag-

stagnating vapours, betray either the decay or the infancy of nature.

The difference of climate, arising from the waters having lain so long on the ground in America, could not but have a great influence on men and animals. From this diversity of causes must necessarily arise a very great diversity of effects. Accordingly we see more species of animals, by two thirds, in the old continent than in the new; animals of the same kind considerably larger; fiercer and more savage moniters, in proportion to the greater increase of mankind. On the other hand, nature seems to have strangely neglected the new world. The men have less strength and less courage; no beard and no hair: they are degraded in all the tokens of manhood; and but little susceptible of the lively and powerful sentiment of love, which is the principle of every attachment, the first instinct, the first band of society, without which all the other factitious ties have neither energy nor duration. The women, who are still more weak, are neither favourably treated by nature nor by the men, who have but little love for them, and consider them as the instruments that are to furnish to their wants; they rather sacrifice them to their own indolence, than consecrate them to their pleasures. This indolence is the great delight and supreme felicity of the Americans, of which the women are the victims by the continual labours imposed upon them. It must, however be confessed, that in America, as in all other parts, the men, when they have sentenced the women to work, have been so equitable, as to take upon themselves the perils of war, together with the toils of hunting and fishing. But their indifference for the sex which nature has intrusted with the care of reproducing the species, implies an imperfection in their organs, a sort of state of childhood in the people of America, as in those of our continent who are

not yet arrived to the age of puberty. This is a radical vice in the other hemisphere, the recency of which is discovered by this kind of imperfection.

But if the Americans are new people, are they a race of men originally distinct from those that cover the face of the old world? This is a question which ought not to be hastily decided. The origin of the population of America is involved in inextricable difficulties. If we assert that the Greenlanders first came from Norway, and then went over to the coast of Labrador; others will tell us, it is more natural to suppose that the Greenlanders are sprung from the Esquimaux, to whom they bear greater resemblance than to the Europeans. If we should suppose that California was peopled from Kamtschatka, it may be asked what motive or what chance could have led the Tartars to the north-west of America. Yet It is imagined to be from Greenland or from Kamtschatka that the inhabitants of the old world must have gone over to the new, as it is by those two countries that the two continents are connected, or at least approach nearest to one another. Besides, how can we conceive that in America the torrid zone can have been peopled from one of the frozen zones? Population will indeed spread from north to south; but it must naturally have begun under the equator, where life is cherished by warmth. If the people of America could not come from our continent, and yet appear to be a new race, we must have recourse to the flood, which is the source and the solution of all difficulties in the history of nations.

Let us suppose, that the sea having overflowed the other hemisphere, its old inhabitants took refuge upon the Apalachian mountains, and the Cordileras, which are far higher than our mount Ararat. But how could they have lived upon those heights, covered with

with snow, and surrounded with waters? How is it possible, that men, who had breathed in a pure and delightful climate, could have survived the miseries of want, the inclemency of a tainted air, and those numberless calamities which must be the unavoidable consequences of a deluge? How will the race have been preserved and propagated in those times of general calamity, and in the succeeding ages of a languid existence? In defiance of all these obstacles, we must allow that America has been peopled by these wretched remains of the great devastation. Every thing carries the vestiges of a malady, of which the human race still feels the effects. The ruin of that world is still imprinted on its inhabitants. They are a species of men degraded and degenerated in their natural constitution, in their stature, in their way of life, and in their understandings, which have made so little progress in all the arts of civilization. A damper air, and a more marshy ground, must necessarily infect the very roots and seeds both of the subsistence and multiplication of mankind. It must have required some ages to restore population, and still a greater number before the ground could be settled and dried so as to be fit for tillage and for the foundation of buildings. The earth must necessarily be purified before the air could clear, and the air must be clear before the earth could be rendered habitable. The imperfection therefore of nature in America is not a proof of its recent origin, but of its regeneration. It was probably peopled at the same time as the other hemisphere, but may have been overflowed later. The large fossil bones that are found under ground in America, shew that it formerly had elephants, rhinoceroses, and other enormous quadrupeds, which have since disappeared from those regions. The gold and silver mines that are
found

found just below the surface, are signs of a very ancient revolution of the globe, but later than those that have overturned our hemisphere.

Suppose America had, by some means or other, been repeopled by our roving hords, that period would be so remote, that it would still give great antiquity to the inhabitants of that hemisphere. Three or four centuries will not then be sufficient to allow for the foundation of the empires of Mexico and Peru; for though we find no trace in these countries of our arts, or of the opinions and customs that prevail in other parts of the globe, yet we have found a police and a society established, inventions and practices, which, though they did not shew any marks of times anterior to the deluge, yet they implied a long series of ages subsequent to this catastrophe. For though in Mexico, as in Egypt, a country surrounded with waters, mountains, and other invincible obstacles, must have forced the men inclosed in it to unite after a time, though they might at first live in altercations and in continual and bloody wars, yet it was only in process of time that they could invent and establish a worship and a legislation, which they could not possibly have borrowed from remote times or countries. The single art of speech, and that of writing, though but in hieroglyphics, required more ages to train up an unconnected nation that must have created both those arts, than it would take up days to perfect a child in both. Ages bear not the same proportion to the whole race as years do to individuals. The former is to occupy a vast field, both as to space and duration; while the other has only some moments or instants of time to fill up, or rather to run over. The likeness and uniformity observable in the features and manners of the American nations, plainly shew that they are not so ancient as those of
our

our continent which differ so much from each other; but at the same time this circumstance seems to confirm that they did not proceed from any foreign hemisphere, with which they have no kind of affinity that can indicate an immediate descent.

4. Comparison between civilized people and savages.

WHATEVER may be the case with regard to their origin or their antiquity, which are both uncertain, a more interesting object of inquiry, perhaps, is, to determine whether these untutored nations are more or less happy than our civilized people. Let us, therefore, examine whether the condition of rude man left to mere animal instinct, whose day, which is spent in hunting, feeding, producing his species, and reposing himself, is the model of all the rest of his days, is better or worse than the condition of that wonderful being, who makes his bed of downs, spins and weaves the thread of the silk-worm to clothe himself, has exchanged the cave, his original abode, for a palace, and has varied his indulgences and his wants in a thousand different ways.

It is in the nature of man that we must look for his means of happiness. What does he want to be as happy as he can be? Present subsistence; and, if he thinks of futurity, the hopes and certainty of enjoying that blessing. The savage, who has not been driven to the frigid zones, is not in want of this first of necessities. If he lays in no stores, it is because the earth and the sea are reservoirs always open to supply his wants. Fish and game are to be had all the year; and will make up for the deficiency of the dead seasons. The savage has no close houses, or commodious fire-places, but his furs answer all the purposes of the roof, the garment, and the stove. He works but for his own
benefit,

benefit, sleeps when he is weary, and is a stranger to watchings and restless nights. War is a matter of choice to him. Danger, like labour, is a condition of his nature, not a profession annexed to his birth; a duty of the nation, not a family bondage. The savage is serious, but not melancholy; and his countenance seldom bears the impress of those passions and disorders that leave such shocking and fatal marks on ours. He cannot feel the want of what he does not desire, nor can he desire what he is ignorant of. Most of the inconveniencies of life are remedies for evils he does not feel. Pleasures are a relief to appetites which are not excited in his sensations. He seldom experiences any of that weariness that arises from unsatisfied desires, or that emptiness and uneasiness of mind that is the offspring of prejudice and vanity. In a word, the savage is subject to none but natural evils.

But what greater happiness than this does the civilized man enjoy? His food is more wholesome and delicate than that of the savage. He has softer clothes, and a habitation better secured against the inclemencies of the weather. But the common people, who are to be the basis and object of civil society, those numbers of men who in all states bear the burden of hard labour, cannot be said to live happy, either in those empires where the consequences of war and the imperfection of the police has reduced them to a state of slavery, or in those governments where the progress of luxury and policy has reduced them to a state of servitude. The mixed governments sometimes afford some sparks of happiness, founded on a shadow of liberty; but this happiness is purchased by torrents of blood, which repel tyranny for a time only to let it fall the heavier upon the devoted nation, sooner or later doomed to oppression. Let us but observe how
Caligula

Caligula and Nero have revenged the expulsion of the Tarquins and the death of Cæsar.

Tyranny, we are told, is the work of the people, and not of kings. But if so, why do they suffer it? Why do they not repel the encroachments of despotism; and while it employs violence and artifice to enslave all the faculties of men, why do they not oppose it with all their powers? But is it lawful to murmur and complain under the rod of the oppressor? Will it not exasperate and provoke him to pursue the victim to death? The cries of servitude he calls rebellion; and they are to be stifled in a dungeon, and sometimes on a scaffold. The man who should assert the rights of man, would perish in neglect and infamy. Tyranny, therefore, must be endured, under the name of authority.

If so, to what outrages is not the civilized man exposed! If he is possessed of any property, he knows not how far he may call it his own, when he must divide the produce between the courtier who may attack his estate, the lawyer who must be paid for teaching him how to preserve it, the soldier who may lay it waste, and the collector who comes to levy unlimited taxes. If he has no property, how can he be assured of a permanent subsistence? What species of industry is there secured against the vicissitudes of fortune, and the encroachments of government?

In the forests of America, if there is a scarcity in the north, the savages bend their course to the south. The wind or the sun will drive a wandering clan to more temperate climates. Between the gates and bars that shut up our civilized states in famine, war or pestilence, should consume an empire, it is a prison where all must expect to perish in misery, or in the horrors of slaughter. The man who is unfortunately born there must endure all extortions, all the severities, that

the inclemency of the seasons and the injustice of government may bring upon him.

In our provinces, the vassal, or free mercenary, digs and ploughs the whole year round, on lands that are not his own, and whose produce does not belong to him; and he is even happy, if his assiduous labour procures him a share of the crops he has sown and reaped. Observed and harrassed by a hard and restless landlord, who grudges him the very straw on which he rests his weary limbs, the wretch is daily exposed to diseases, which, joined to his poverty, make him wish for death, rather than for an expensive cure, followed by infirmities and toil. Whether tenant or subject, he is doubly a slave: if he has a few acres, his lord comes and gathers where he has not sown; if he is worth but a yoke of oxen or a pair of horses, he must go with them upon services; if he has nothing but his person: the prince takes him for a soldier. Every where he meets with masters, and always with oppression.

In our cities, the workman and the artist who have establishments are at the mercy of greedy and idle masters, who by the privilege of monopoly have purchased of government a power of making industry work for nothing, and of selling its labours at a very high price. The lower class have no more than the sight of that luxury of which they are doubly the victims, by the watchings and fatigues it occasions them and by the insolence of the pomp that mortifies and tramples upon them.

Even supposing that the dangerous labours of our quarries, mines, and forges, with all the arts that are performed by fire, and that perils of navigation and commerce were less pernicious than the roving life of the savages who live upon hunting and fishing; suppose that men, who are ever lamenting the sorrows and
affronts

affronts that arise merely from opinion, are less unhappy than the savages, who never shed a tear in the midst of the most excruciating tortures; there would still remain a wide difference between the fate of the civilized man and the wild Indian, a difference entirely to the disadvantage of social life. This is the injustice that reigns in the partial distribution of fortunes and stations; an inequality which is at once the effect and the cause of oppression.

In vain does custom, prejudice, ignorance, and hard labour, stupify the lower class of mankind, so as to render them insensible of their degradation; neither religion nor morality can hinder them from seeing and feeling the injustice of political order in the distribution of good and evil. How often have we heard the poor man expostulating with Heaven, and asking what he had done, that he should deserve to be born in an indigent and dependant station. Even if great conflicts were inseparable from more exalted stations, which might be sufficient to balance all the advantages and all the superiority that the social state claims over the state of nature, still the obscure man, who is unacquainted with those conflicts, sees nothing in a high rank but that affluence which is the cause of his own poverty. He envies the rich man those pleasures to which he is so accustomed, that he has lost all relish for them. What domestic can have a real affection for his master, or what is the attachment of a servant? Was ever any prince truly beloved by his courtiers, even when he was hated by his subjects? If we prefer our condition to that of the savages, it is because civil life has made us incapable of bearing some natural hardships which the savage is more exposed to than we are, and because we are attached to some indulgences that custom has made necessary to us. Even in the vigour of life, a civilized man may accus-

tom himself to live among savages, and return to the state of nature. We have an instance of this in that Scotchman who was cast away on the island of Fernandez, where he lived alone, and was happy as soon as he was so taken up with supplying his wants, as to forget his own country, his language, his name, and even the utterance of words. After four years, he felt himself eased of the burden of social life, when he had lost all reflection or thought of the past, and all anxiety for the future.

Lastly, the consciousness of independence being one of the first instincts in man, he who enjoys this primitive right, with a moral certainty of a competent subsistence, is incomparably happier than the rich man, restrained by laws, masters, prejudices, and fashions, which incessantly remind him of the loss of his liberty. To compare the state of Savages to that of Children, is to decide at once the question that has been so warmly debated by philosophers, concerning the advantages of the state of nature, and that of social life. Children, notwithstanding the restraints of education, are in the happiest age of human life. Their habitual cheerfulness, when they are not under the schoolmaster's rod, is the surest indication of the happiness they feel. After all, a single word may determine this great question. Let us ask the civilized man, whether he is happy; and the savage, whether he is unhappy. If they both answer in the negative, the dispute is at an end.

Civilized nations, this parallel must certainly be mortifying to you: but you cannot too strongly feel the weight of the calamities under which you groan. The more painful this sensation is, the more will it awaken your attention to the true causes of your sufferings. You may at last be convinced that they proceed from the confusion of your opinions, from the defects

defects of your political constitutions, and from capricious laws, which are in continual opposition to the laws of nature.

After this inquiry into the moral state of the Americans, let us return to the natural state of their country. Let us see what it was before the arrival of the English, and what it is become under their dominion.

5. In what state the English found North America and what they have done there.

THE first Europeans who went over to settle English colonies, found immense forests. The vast trees, that grew up to the clouds, were so encumbered with creeping plants, that they could not be got at. The wild beasts made these woods still more inaccessible. They met only with few savages, clothed with the skins of those monsters. The human race, thinly scattered, fled from each other, or pursued only with intent to destroy. The earth seemed useless to man; and its powers were not exerted so much for his support, as in the breeding of animals, more obedient to the laws of nature. The earth produced every thing at pleasure, without assistance, and without direction; it yielded all its bounties with uncontrolled profusion for the benefit of all, not for the pleasure or conveniences of one species of beings. The rivers glided freely thro' the forests; now spread themselves quietly in a wide morass; from hence issuing in various streams, they formed a multitude of islands, encompassed with their channels. The spring was restored from the spoils of autumn. The leaves dried and rotted at the foot of the trees, supplied them with fresh sap to enable them to shoot out new blossoms. The hollow trunks of trees afforded a retreat to prodigious flights

of

of birds. The sea, dashing against the coasts, and indenting the gulphs, threw up shoals of amphibious monsters, enormous whales, crabs and turtles, that sported uncontrolled on the desert shores. There nature exerted her plastic power, incessantly producing the gigantic inhabitants of the ocean, and asserting the freedom of the earth and the sea.

But man appeared, and immediately changed the face of North America. He introduced symmetry, by the assistance of all the instruments of art. The impenetrable woods were instantly cleared, and made room for commodious habitations. The wild beasts were driven away, and flocks of domestic animals supplied their place; whilst thorns and briars made way for rich harvests. The waters forsook part of their domain, and were drained off into the interior parts of the land, or into the sea, by deep canals. The coasts were covered with towns, and the bays with ships; and thus the new world, like the old, became subject to man. What powerful engines have raised that wonderful structure of European industry and policy? Let us proceed to the particulars.

B O O K I.

ENGLISH COLONIES SETTLED AT HUDSON'S BAY,
NEWFOUNDLAND, NOVA SCOTIA, NEW ENGLAND,
NEW YORK, AND NEW JERSEY.

C H A P. I.

Of HUDSON'S BAY.

1. *Climate. Customs of the inhabitants. Trade.*

IN the remotest part stands a solitary object, distinct from the whole, which is called Hudson's bay. This bay, of about ten degrees in length, is formed by the ocean in the distant and northern parts of America. The breadth of the entrance is about six leagues; but it is only to be attempted from the beginning of July to the end of September, and is even then extremely dangerous. This danger arises from mountains of ice, some of which are said to be from 15 to 18 hundred feet thick, and which having been produced by winters of five or six years duration in little gulphs constantly filled with snow, are forced out of them by north-west winds, or by some other extraordinary cause. The best way of avoiding them is to keep as near as possible to the northern coast, which must necessarily be less obstructed and most free by the natural directions of both winds and currents.

The north west wind, which blows almost constantly in winter, and very often in summer, frequently raises violent storms within the bay itself, which is rendered still more dangerous by the number of shoals

that are found there. Happily, however, small groups of islands are met with at different distances, which are of a sufficient height to afford a shelter from the storm. Besides these small Archipelagos, there are in many places large piles of bare rock; but, except the Alga Marina, the bay produces as few vegetables as the other northern seas. Throughout all the countries surrounding this bay, the sun never rises or sets without forming a great cone of light; this phenomenon is succeeded by the Aurora Borealis, which tinges the hemisphere with coloured rays of such a brilliancy, that the splendour of them is not effaced even by that of the full moon. Notwithstanding this, there is seldom a bright sky. In spring and autumn, the air is always filled with thick fogs; and in winter, with an infinite number of small icicles.

Though the heats in the summer are pretty considerable for six weeks or two months, there is seldom any thunder or lightning, owing, no doubt, to the great number of sulphureous exhalations, which, however, are sometimes set on fire by the Aurora Borealis, and this light flame consumes the barks of the trees, but leave their trunks untouched.

One of the effects of the extreme cold or snow that prevails in this climate, is that of turning those animals white in winter, which are naturally brown or grey. Nature has bestowed upon them all, soft, long and thick furs, the hair of which falls off as the weather grows milder. In most of these quadrupeds, the feet, the tail, the ears, and generally speaking all those parts in which the circulation is slower because they are most remote from the heart, are extremely short. Wherever they happen to be somewhat longer, they are proportionably well covered. Under this heavy sky, all liquors become solid by freezing, and break whatever vessels contain them. Even spirits of wine
loses

loses its fluidity. It is not uncommon to see fragments of large rock loosened and detached from the great mass, by the force of the frost. All these phenomena, common enough during the whole winter, are much more terrible at the new and full moon, which in these regions has an influence upon the weather, the causes of which are not known.

In this frozen zone, iron, lead, copper, marble, and a substance resembling sea-coal, have been discovered. In other respects, the soil is extremely barren. Except the coasts, which are for the most part marshy, where there grows a little grass and some soft wood, the rest of the country offers nothing but very high moss and a few weak shrubs thinly scattered.

This sterility of nature extends itself to every thing. The human race are few in number, and scarce any of its individuals above four feet high. Their heads bear the same enormous proportion to the rest of their bodies, as those of children do. The smallness of their feet makes them awkward and tottering in their gait. Small hands and a round mouth, which in Europe are reckoned a beauty, seem almost a deformity in these people, because we see nothing here but the effects of a weak organization, and of a cold that contracts and restrains the springs of growth, and is fatal to the progress of animal as well as of vegetable life. Besides this, all their men, though they have neither hair nor beard, have the appearance of being old. This is partly occasioned from the formation of their lower lip, which is thick, fleshy, and projecting beyond the upper. Such are the Esquimaux, which inhabit not only the coast of Labrador, from whence they have taken their name, but likewise all that tract of country which extends
itself

itself from the point of Belle-Île to the most northern parts of America.

The inhabitants of Hudson's bay have, like the Greenlanders, a flat face, with short but flattened noses, the pupil of their eyes yellow and the iris black. Their women have marks of deformity peculiar to their sex; amongst others, very long and flabby breasts. This defect which is not natural, arises from their custom of giving suck to their children till they are five or six years old. The children pull their mothers breasts with their hands, and almost suspend themselves by them.

It is not true that there are races of the Esquimaux entirely black, as has been since supposed, and afterwards accounted for; nor that they live under ground. How should they dig into a soil, which the cold renders harder than stone? How is it possible they should live in caverns where they would be infallibly drowned by the first melting of the snows? What, however, is certain, and almost equally surprising, is, that they spend the winter under huts run up in haste, and made of flints joined together with cements of ice, where they live without any other fire but that of a lamp hung up in the middle of the shed, for the purpose of dressing their game and the fish they feed upon. The heat of their blood, and of their breath, added to the vapour arising from this small flame, is sufficient to make their huts as hot as stoves.

The Esquimaux dwell constantly near the sea, which supplies them with all their provisions. Both their constitution and complexion partake of the quality of their food. The flesh of the seal is their food, and the oil of the whale is their drink; which produces in them all an olive complexion, a strong smell of fish, an oily and tenacious sweat, and sometimes a sort of scaly leprosy. This last is, probably,

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the reason why the mothers have the same custom as the bears, of licking their young ones.

This nation, weak and degraded by nature, is notwithstanding ~~most~~ intrepid upon a sea that is constantly dangerous. In boats made and sewed together in the same manner as goat skin bottles, but at the same time so well closed that it is impossible for water to penetrate them, they follow the shoals of herrings thro' the whole of their polar emigrations, and attack the whales and seals at the peril of their lives. One stroke of the whale's tail is sufficient to drown a hundred of them, and the seal is armed with teeth to devour those he cannot drown; but the hunger of the Esquimaux is superior to the rage of these monsters. They have an inordinate thirst for the whale's oil; which is necessary to preserve the heat in their stomachs, and defend them from the severity of the cold. Indeed whales, men, birds, and all the quadrupeds and fish of the north, are supplied by nature with a degree of fat which prevents the muscles from freezing, and the blood from coagulating. Every thing in these arctic regions is either oily or gummy, and even the trees are resinous.

The Esquimaux are notwithstanding subject to two fatal disorders; the scurvy, and the loss of sight. The continuation of the snows on the ground, joined to the reverberation of the rays of the sun on the ice, dazzle their eyes in such a manner, that they are almost constantly obliged to wear shades made of very thin wood, through which small apertures for the light have been bored with fish-bones. Doomed to a six-months night, they never see the sun but obliquely; and then it seems rather to blind them, than to give them light. Sight, the most delightful blessing of nature, is a fatal gift to them, and they are generally deprived of it when young.

A still more cruel evil, which is the scurvy, consumes them by slow degrees. It insinuates itself into their blood, changes, thickens, and impoverishes the whole mass. The fogs of the sea, which they inspire; the dense and inelastic air they breathe in their huts, which are shut up from all communication with the external air; the continued and tedious inactivity of their winters; a mode of life alternately roving and sedentary; every thing, in short, serves to increase this dreadful illness; which in a little time becomes contagious, and, spreading itself throughout their habitations, is but too probably transmitted by the means of generation.

Notwithstanding these inconveniences, the Esquimaux is so passionately fond of his country, that no inhabitant of the most favoured spot under heaven quits it with more reluctance than he does his frozen deserts. One of the reasons of it may be, that he finds it difficult to breathe in a softer and cooler climate. The sky of Amsterdam, Copenhagen, and London, though constantly obscured by thick and fetid vapours, is too clear for an Esquimaux. Perhaps too, there may be something in the change of life and manners still more contrary to the health of savages than the climate. It is not impossible but that the indulgences of an European may be a poison to the Esquimaux.

Such were the inhabitants of the country discovered in 1610 by Henry Hudson. This intrepid mariner, in searching after a north west passage to the south-seas, discovered three streights, through which he hoped to find out a new way to Asia by America. He sailed boldly into the midst of the new gulph; and was preparing to explore all its parts, when his treacherous ships company put him into the long-boat with seven others, and left him without either arms

OR

or provisions, exposed to all the dangers both of sea and land. The barbarians, who refused him the necessaries of life, could not, however, rob him of the honour of the discovery; and the bay which he first found out will ever be called by his name.

The miseries of the civil war which followed soon after, had, however, made the English forget this distant country, which had nothing to attract them. More quiet times had not yet brought it to their remembrance, when Groseillers and Radisson, two French Canadians, who had met with some discontent at home, informed the English, who were engaged in repairing by trade the mischiefs of discord, of the profits arising from furs, and of their claim to the country that furnished them. Those who proposed the business shewed so much ability, that they were intrusted with the execution; and the first establishment they formed succeeded so well, that it surpassed their own hopes as well as their promises.

This success alarmed the French; who were afraid, and with reason, that most of the fine furs which they got from the northern parts of Canada, would be carried to Hudson's bay. Their alarms were confirmed by the unanimous testimony of their Coureurs de Bois, who since 1656 had been four times as far as the borders of the strait. It would have been a desirable thing to have gone by the same road to attack the new colony; but the distance being thought too considerable notwithstanding the convenience of the rivers, it was at length determined that the expedition should be made by sea. The fate of it was trusted to Groseillers and Radisson, who had been easily brought back to a regard for their country.

These two bold and restless men sailed from Quebec in 1682, upon two vessels badly fitted out; but on their arrival, finding themselves not strong enough to
attack

attack the enemy, they were contented with erecting a fort in the neighbourhood of that they thought to have taken. From this time there began a rivalry between the two companies, one settled at Canada, the other in England, for the exclusive trade of the bay, which was constantly fed by the disputes it gave birth to, till at last, after each of their settlements had been frequently taken by the other, all hostilities were terminated by the treaty of Utrecht, which gave up the whole to Great Britain.

Hudson's Bay, properly speaking, is only a mart for trade. The severity of the climate having destroyed all the corn sown there at different times, has frustrated every hope of agriculture, and consequently of population. Throughout the whole of this extensive coast, there are not more than ninety or a hundred soldiers, or factors, comprised in four bad forts, of which York fort is the principal. Their business is to receive the furs which the neighbouring savages bring in exchange for merchandise, of which they have been taught the value and use.

Though these skins are of much more value than those which come out of countries not so far north, yet they are cheaper. The savages give ten beaver skins for a gun, two for a pound of powder, one for four pounds of lead, one for a hatchet, one for six knives, two for a pound of glass beads, six for a cloth coat, five for a petticoat, and one for a pound of snuff. Combs, looking-glasses, kettles, and brandy, sell in proportion. As the beaver is the common measure of exchange, by another regulation as fraudulent as the first, two otter's skins and three martins are required instead of one beaver. Besides this tyranny, which is authorised, there is another which is at least tolerated, by which the savages are constantly defrauded in the quality, quantity, and measure of what is given

given them; and the fraud amounts to about one third of the value.

From this regular system of imposition it is easy to guess that the commerce of Hudson's bay is a monopoly. The capital of the company that is in possession of it was originally no more than 10,565 l. 12 s. 6 d. and has been successively increased to 104,146 l. 12 s. 6 d. This capital brings them in an annual return of forty or fifty thousand skins of beavers or other animals, upon which they make so exorbitant a profit, that it excites the jealousy and clamours of the nation. Two thirds of these beautiful furs are either consumed in kind in the three kingdoms, or made use of in the national manufactures. The rest are carried into Germany, where the climate makes them a valuable commodity.

2. Whether there is a passage at Hudson's Bay leading to the East Indies.

BUT it is neither the acquisition of these savage riches, nor the still greater emoluments that might be drawn from this trade if it were made free, which has fixed the attention of England as well as that of all Europe upon this frozen continent. Hudson's bay always has been and is still looked upon as the nearest road from Europe to the East-Indies, and to the richest parts of Asia.

Cabot was the first who entertained an idea of a north west passage to the south seas; but his discoveries ended at Newfoundland. After him followed a crowd of English navigators, many of whom had the glory of giving their names to savage coasts which no mortal had ever visited before. These bold and memorable expeditions were more brilliant than really useful. The most fortunate of them did not ever furnish a

fresh conjecture on the end that was proposed. The Dutch, less frequent in their trials, less animated in the means by which they pursued them, were of course not more successful, and the whole began to be treated as a chimera, when the discovery of Hudson's Bay rekindled all the hopes that were nearly extinguished.

At this period the attempts were renewed with fresh ardour, those that had been made before in vain by the mother country, now taken up with her own intestine commotions, were pursued by New England; whose situation was favourable to the enterprize. Still however, for some time there were more voyages undertaken than discoveries made. The nation was a long time kept in suspense by the different accounts of the adventurers divided amongst themselves. While some maintained the possibility, others the probability and others again asserted the certainty, of the passage; the accounts they gave, instead of clearing up the point, involved it in still greater darkness. Indeed, these accounts are so full of obscurity and confusion, so many things are concealed in them, and they display such visible marks of ignorance and want of veracity, that with the utmost desire of deciding, it is impossible to build any thing like a solid judgment upon testimonies so suspicious. At length the famous expedition of 1746 threw some kind of light upon a point which had remained enveloped in darkness for two centuries past. But upon what grounds have the later navigators taken up better hopes? What are the experiments on which they found their conjectures? Let us proceed to give an account of their arguments. There are three facts in natural history, which henceforward must be taken for granted. The first is, that the tides come from the ocean, and that they extend more or less into the other seas, in proportion as their chanel communicate with the reservoirs by larger or smaller
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openings ; whence it follows, that this periodical motion is scarce perceptible in the Mediterranean, in the Baltic, and in other gulphs of the same nature. A second matter of fact is, that the tides are much latter and much weaker in places more remote from the ocean, than in those which are nearer to it. The third fact is, that violent winds, which blow in a direction with the tides, make them rise above their ordinary boundaries ; and that those which blow in a contrary direction retard the motion of the tides, at the same time that they diminish their swell.

From these principles, it is most certain, that if Hudson's bay were no more than a gulph inclosed between two continents, and had no communication but with the Atlantic, the tides in it would be very inconsiderable ; they would be weaker in proportion as they were further removed from the source, and they would be much less strong wherever they had to resist opposite winds. But it is proved by observations made with the greatest skill and precision, that the tides are very high throughout the whole of the bay. It is certain that they are higher towards the bottom than even at the very mouth of the bay, or at least in the neighbourhood of it. It is proved, that even this height increases whenever the wind blows from a corner opposite to the strait. It is therefore certain, that Hudson's bay has a communication with the ocean, besides that which has been already found out.

Those who have endeavoured to explain these very striking facts, by the supposition of a communication of Hudson's bay with Baffin's bay, or with Davis's straits, are evidently mistaken. They would not scruple to allow it, if they only considered, that the tides are much lower in Davis's straits, and in Baffin's bay, than in Hudson's.

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But if the tides in Hudson's bay can come neither from the Atlantic ocean, nor from any other northern sea, in which they are constantly much weaker, it follows that they must come from some part in the south sea. And this is still further apparent from another leading fact, which is, that the highest tides ever observed upon these coasts are always occasioned by the north-west winds, which blow directly against the mouth of the straits.

Having thus determined, as much as the nature of the subject will permit, the existence of this passage so long and so vainly wished for, the next point is to find out in what part of the bay it is to be expected. Every thing inclines us to think, that the attempts, hitherto made without either choice or method, ought to be directed towards Welcome-bay, on the western coast. First, the bottom of the sea is found there at the depth of about eleven fathom; which is an evident sign that the water comes from some ocean, as such a transparency is incompatible either with the waters discharged from rivers, or with melted snow or rain. Secondly, the current keeps this place always free from ice, whilst all the rest of the bay is covered with it; and their violence cannot be accounted for but by supposing them to come from some western sea. Lastly, the whales, who towards autumn always go in search of the warmest climates, are found in great abundance in these parts towards the end of summer; which would seem to indicate, that they have a way of going from thence to the south seas, not to the northern ocean.

It is probable, that the passage is very short. All the rivers that empty themselves into the western coast of Hudson's bay are small and slow, which seems to prove that they do not come from afar; and that consequently the lands which part the two seas, are of a
small

small extent. This argument is strengthened by the height and regularity of the tides. Wherever there is no other difference between the times of the ebb and flow, but that which is occasioned by the retarded progression of the moon in her return to the meridian, it is a certain sign that the ocean from whence those tides come is very near. If the passage is short, and not very far to the north, as every thing seems to promise, we may also presume that it is not very difficult. The rapidity of the currents observable in these latitudes, which do not allow any cakes of ice to continue in them, cannot but give some weight to this conjecture.

The discoveries that still remain to be made are of so much importance, that it would be folly to give them up. If the passage so long sought for, were once found, communications would be opened between parts of the globe which hitherto seem to have been separated by nature from each other. They would soon be extended to the continent of the south seas, and to all the numerous islands scattered upon that immense ocean. The intercourse which has subsisted nearly for three centuries between the commercial nations of Europe and the most remote parts of India, being happily freed from the inconveniences of a long navigation, would be much brisker, more constant, and more advantageous. It is not to be doubted that the English would be desirous of securing an exclusive enjoyment of the fruits of their activity and expences. This wish would certainly be very natural, and would be very powerfully supported. But as the advantages obtained would be of such a nature, that it would be impossible always to preserve the sole possession of it, we may venture to foretel, that all nations must in time become partakers of it with them. Whenever this happens, both the straits of Magellan and Cape

Horn will be entirely deserted, and the Cape of Good Hope much less frequented. Whatever the consequences of the discovery may be, it is equally for the interest and dignity of Great Britain to pursue her attempts, till they are either crowned with success, or the impossibility of succeeding is fully demonstrated. The resolution she has already taken in 1745 of promising a considerable reward to the seamen who shall make this important discovery, though it be an equal proof of the wisdom and generosity of her councils, is not alone sufficient to attain the end supposed. The English ministry cannot be ignorant, that all the efforts made either by government, or individuals, will prove abortive, till such time as the trade to Hudson's bay shall be entirely free. The company in whose hands it has been ever since 1670, not content with neglecting the chief object of its institution, by taking no steps itself for the discovery of the North-west passage, has thrown every impediment in the way of those who from love of fame, or other motives, have been prompted to this great undertaking. Nothing can ever alter this iniquitous spirit, for it is the very spirit of monopoly.

C H A P. II.

OF NEWFOUNDLAND.

1. *Description.*

HAPPILY the exclusive privilege which prevails at Hudson's bay, and seems to exclude all nations from the means of acquiring knowledge and riches, does not extend its oppression to Newfoundland. This island, situated between 46 and 52 degrees of north latitude, is separated from the coast of Labrador only by a channel of moderate breadth,
known

known by the name of Belleisle Straits. It is of a triangular form, and a little more than three hundred leagues in circumference. We can only speak by conjecture of the inland parts of it, from the difficulty of penetrating far into it, and the apparent inutility of succeeding in the attempt. The little that is known of this strait is, that it is full of very steep rocks, mountains covered with bad wood, and some very narrow and sandy valleys. These inaccessible places are stocked with deer, which multiply with the greater ease, from the security of their situation. No savages have ever been seen there except some Esquimaux, who come over from the continent in the hunting season. The coast abounds with creeks, roads, and harbours; is sometimes covered with moss, but more commonly with small pebbles, which seem as if they had been placed there with design, for the purpose of drying the fish caught in the neighbourhood. In all the open places, where the flat stones reflect the sun's rays, the heat is excessive. The rest of the country is intensely cold; less so, however, from its situation, than from the heights, the forests, the winds, and above all, the vast mountains of ice which come out of the northern seas, and are stopped on these coasts. The sky towards the north and western parts is constantly serene; it is much less so towards the east and south, both of them being too near the great bank, which is enveloped in a perpetual fog.

This island was originally discovered in 1497, by the Venetian Cabot, at that time in the service of England, who made no settlement there. It was presumed, from the several voyages made after this, with a view of examining what advantages might be derived from it, that it was fit for nothing but the cod fishery, which is very common in that sea. Accordingly the English used to send out at first small vessels in the spring, which

which returned again in autumn with their freight of fish both salt and fresh. The consumption of this article became almost universal, and there was a great demand for it particularly among the Roman Catholics. The English availed themselves of this superstition, to enrich themselves at the expence of the clergy, who had formerly drawn their wealth from England; and thought of forming settlements there. The first, that were established at great intervals from one another, were unsuccessful, and were all forsaken soon after they were founded. The first that acquired any consistence was in 1608; the success of which raised such a spirit of emulation, that, within forty years, all the space between Conception-bay and Cape Ras was peopled by a colony amounting to above four thousand souls. Those who were employed in the fishery, being forced, both from the nature of their occupations and that of the soil, to live at a distance from each other, cut paths of communication through the woods. Their general rendezvous was at St John's; where, in an excellent harbour, protected by two mountains at a very small distance from each other, and large enough to contain above two hundred ships, they used to meet with privateers from the mother country, who carried off the produce of their fishery, and gave them other necessaries in exchange for it.

The French did not wait for this prosperity of the English trade, to turn their thoughts to Newfoundland. They had for a long time frequented the southern parts of the island, where the Malouins in particular came every year to a place they had called the Petit Nord. After this some of them fixed without any order upon the coast from Cape Ray to Chapeau Rouge; and at length they became numerous enough to form something like a town in the bay of Placentia, where they had

had every convenience that could make their fishery successful.

Before the bay is a road of about a league and a half in breadth; not, however sufficiently sheltered from the N. N. W. winds, which blow there with extreme violence. The strait which forms the entrance of the bay is so confined by rocks, that only one vessel can enter at a time, and even that must be towed in. The bay itself is about eighteen leagues long, and at the extremity of it there is an exceeding safe harbour which holds 150 ships. Notwithstanding the advantage of such a situation for securing to France the whole fishery of the southern coast of Newfoundland, the ministry of Versailles paid very little attention to it. It was not till 1687 that a small fort was built at the mouth of the strait, in which a garrison was placed of about fifty men.

Till this period, the inhabitants whom necessity had fixed upon this barren and savage coast had been happily forgotten; but from that time began a system of oppression which continued increasing every day from the rapaciousness of the successive governors. This tyranny, by which the colonists were prevented from acquiring that degree of competency that was necessary to enable them to pursue their labours with success, must also hinder them from increasing their numbers. The French fishery, therefore, could never prosper as that of the English. Notwithstanding this, Great Britain did not forget, at the treaty of Utrecht, the inroads that had so often been made upon their territories by their enterprising neighbours, who supported by the Canadians accustomed to expeditions and to the fatigues of the chase, trained up in the art of bush-fighting, and exercised in sudden attacks, had several times carried devastation into her settlements. This was sufficient to induce her to demand the entire
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possession of the island, and the misfortunes of the times obliged the French to submit to this sacrifice; not, however, without reserving to themselves the right of fishing not only on one part of the island, but also on the Great Bank, which was considered as belonging to it.

2 Fisheries.

THE fish which makes these latitudes so famous, is the cod. They are never above three feet long, and often less; but there are no fish in the whole ocean whose mouth is so large in proportion to their size, or which are so voracious. Broken pieces of earthen ware, iron, and glass, are often found in their bellies. The stomach, indeed, does not digest these hard substances, as it hath long been thought; but it hath the power of inverting itself, like a pocket, and thus discharges whatever loads it.

The cod fish is found in the northern seas of Europe. The fishery is carried on by thirty English, sixty French, and 150 Dutch vessels, one with another from 80 to 100 tons burden. Their competitors are the Irish and especially the Norwegians. The latter are employed, before the fishing season, in collecting upon the coast the eggs of the cod, which is a bait necessary to catch pilchards. They sell, *communibus annis*, from twenty to twenty-two thousand tons of this fish, at 7s. 10-1-2d. per ton. If it could be disposed of, a great deal more would be caught; for an able naturalist, who has had the patience to count the eggs of one single cod, has found 9,344,00 of them. This profusion of nature must still be increased at Newfoundland, where the cod fish is found in infinitely greater plenty.

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The fish of Newfoundland is also more delicate, though not so white; but it is not an object of trade when fresh, and only serves for the food of those who are employed in the fishery. When it is salted and dried, or only salted, it becomes an useful article to a great part of Europe and America. That which is only salted is called green cod, and is caught upon the great bank.

This slip of land is one of those mountains formed under water by the earth which the sea is continually washing away from the continent. Both its extremities terminate so much in a point, that it is difficult to assign the precise extent of it; but it is generally reckoned to be 160 leagues long and 90 broad. Towards the middle of it, on the European side, is a kind of bay, which has been called the Ditch. Throughout all this space, the depth of water is very different in some places there are only five, in others above sixty fathom. The sun scarce ever shows itself there, and the sky is generally covered with a thick cold fog. The waves are always agitated, and the winds always impetuous around it, which must be owing to the sea being irregularly driven forward by currents, which bear sometimes on one side, sometimes on the other, and strike against the borders, which are every where perpendicular, and repel them with equal violence. This is most likely to be the true cause; because on the bank itself, at some distance from the coast, it is as quiet as in a bay, except when there happens to be a forced wind which comes from a greater distance.

From the middle of July to the latter end of August there is no cod found either upon the great bank or any of the small ones near it; but all the rest of the year the fishery is carried on. The ships employed in it are commonly from 50 to 150 tons, and carry not less than twelve or more than twenty-five men aboard.

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These fishermen are provided with lines; and before they set to work, catch a fish called the caplin, which is a bait for the cod.

Previous to their entering upon the fishery, they build a gallery on the outside of the ship, which reaches from the main mast to the stern, and sometimes the whole length of it. This gallery is furnished with barrels, of which the top is beaten out. The fishermen place themselves within these, and are sheltered from the weather by a pitched covering fastened to the barrels. As soon as they catch a cod, they cut out its tongue, and give it to one of the boys to carry to a person appointed for the purpose, who immediately strikes off the head, plucks out the liver and entrails, and then lets it fall thro' a small hatchway between the decks; when another man takes it, and draws out the bone as far as the navel, and then lets it sink through another hatchway into the hold; where it is salted and ranged in piles. The person who salts it, is attentive to leave salt enough between the rows of fish which form the piles, to prevent their touching each other, and yet not to leave too much, as either excess would spoil the cod.

In the right of nature, the fishing upon the great bank ought to have been common to all mankind: notwithstanding which, the two powers who have colonies in North America have made very little difficulty of appropriating it to themselves; and Spain, who alone could have any claim to it, and who from the number of her monks might have pleaded the necessity of asserting it, entirely gave up the matter at the last peace; since which time the English and French are the only nations who frequent these latitudes.

In 1768, France set out 145 ships; the expence of which is valued at 111,431 *l.* 5*s.* These vessels, which
carried

carried in all 8830 tons, were manned by 1700 men; who upon an average, and according to calculations ascertained by being often repeated, must have caught each 700 fish; so that the whole of the fishery must have produced 1,190,000.

These cod are divided into three separate classes; the first consists in those which are twenty-four inches in length or upwards, the second comprehends those which measure from nineteen to twenty four, and the third takes in all that are under nineteen inches. If the fishery has yielded, as it commonly does, two fifths of good fish, two fifths of moderate fish, and one fifth of bad, and if the fish has been sold at the common price, which is 6*l* 11*s*. 3*d*. the hundred weight, the produce of the whole fishery will amount to 45,937*l*. 10*s*. The hundred weight is composed of 136 cod of the first quality, and of 272 of the second; which two sorts taken together sell for 7*l*. 17*s*. 6*d* the hundred. Only 136 cod are required to make up the hundred weight of the third class; but this hundred weight sells only for one third of the other, and is worth only 2*l*. 12*s*. 6. when the first is worth 7*l* 17*s*. 6. Consequently the 1,190,000 cod really caught, and reduced in this manner, make only 700,000 cod, which at 6*l* 11*s* 3*d*. the hundred weight which is the mean price of three sorts of fish, will produce only 45,937*l*. 10*s*. Out of this the crew must receive for their share, which is one fifth, 9,187*l*. 10*s*. Consequently there remains only 36,750*l*. profit for the undertakers. This is not sufficient, as will be easily made evident. First, we must deduct the expences of unloading; which, for the 145 ships, cannot be reckoned at less than 380*l*. 12*s* 6*d* The insurance of 111,431*l*. 5*s* at five per cent. must amount to 5,571*l*. 11. 3*d* As much also must be deducted for the interest of the money. The value of the ships must be estimated at two thirds of the capital advanced

and will therefore be 74,287/ 10s. If we allow no more than five per cent. for the annual repair of the ships, we shall still be obliged to subtract 3,714l. 7s. 6d. from the profits. All these sums added together make a loss of 15,631/ 17s. 6d. which being assessed upon a capital of 111,431/ 5s. amounts to a loss of 12s. 3d. farthing per cent.

The French ministry must, therefore, either absolutely give up the fishery of the green cod, which is consumed in the capital, and in the northern provinces of France, or must take off the enormous duties which are at present imposed upon this kind of consumption. If they delay much longer to sacrifice this insignificant portion of the public revenue to so valuable a branch of trade, they will soon have the mortification to see the revenue disappear with the trade that produced it. The habit of trading, the hopes of amendment, the aversion the traders have for selling their ships and stock under prime cost; these are the only motives that induce them still to continue the cod fishery: motives which must certainly have an end; and, if we may judge from the general appearance of dissatisfaction, that end is not very far off.

The English, the produce of whose fishery is subject to no tax, have not the same reasons for giving it up. They have also another advantage; which is, that not coming from Europe, as their competitors do but only from Newfoundland or other places almost as near, they can make use of very small vessels, which are easily managed, are not much raised above the water, and where sails may be brought level with the deck, so that being little exposed, even to the most violent winds, their work is seldom interrupted by the roughness of the weather. Besides, they do not, as other seamen, lose their time in procuring baits, which *they bring along with them.* In a word, their sailors
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are more inured to the fatigues, more accustomed to the cold, and more ready at the business.

The English, however, attend very little to the fishery of the great cod; because they have no mart for disposing of it. In this branch they do not sell half so much as their rivals. As their cod is prepared with very little care, they seldom make up a complete cargo of it. For fear of its spoiling, they commonly quit the Great Bank, with two thirds and very often with not more than half their lading, which they sell to the Spanish and Portuguese, and amongst their own countryman. But they make themselves amends for this trifling exportation of the green cod, by the great superiority they have acquired in all markets for the dry cod.

This branch of trade is carried on in two different ways. That which is called Wandering Fishery, belongs to vessels which sail every year from Europe to Newfoundland, at the end of March or in April. As they come near the island, they frequently meet with a quantity of ice, which the northern currents push towards the south, which is broken to pieces by repeated shocks, and melts sooner or later at the return of the heats. These cakes of ice are frequently a league in circumference; they are as high as the loftiest mountains, and reach to above sixty or eighty fathoms under water. When they are joined to lesser pieces, they sometimes occupy a space of a hundred leagues in length, and twenty-five or thirty in breadth. Interest which obliges the mariners to come to their landings as soon as possible, that they may chuse the harbours most favourable to the fishery, makes them brave the rigour of the seasons and of the elements, which all conspire against human industry. Neither the most formidable rampart erected by military art, nor the dreadful canonade of a besieged town, nor the terrors
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of the most skilful and obstinate sea-fight, require so much intrepidity and experience to encounter, as do these enormous floating bulwarks which the sea opposes to these small fleets of fishermen. But the most insatiable of all passions, the thirst of gold, surmounts every obstacle, and carries the mariner across these mountains of ice to the spot where the ships are to take in their lading.

The first thing to be done after landing is to cut wood and erect scaffolds. These labours employ every body. When they are finished, the company divide : one half of the crew stays ashore to cure the fish ; and the other goes on board in small boats, with three men in those which are intended for the the fishery of the caplin, and four for the cod. These last, which are the most numerous, sail before it is light, generally at the distance of three, four, or five leagues from the coast, and return in the evening to the scaffolds near the sea-side, where they deposit the produce of the day.

When one man has taken off the cod's head, and emptied the body, he gives it to another, who slices it and puts it in salt, where it is left till it is quite dry. It is then heaped up in piles, and left for some days to exsude. It is then again laid on the strand, where it continues drying, and takes the colour we see it have in Europe.

There are no fatigues, whatever, to be compared with the labours of this fishery, which hardly leave those who work at it, four hours rest in the night. Happily, the salubrity of the climate keeps up the health of the people against such severe trials ; and these labours would be thought nothing of, if they were rewarded by the produce.

But there are some harbours where the strand is at so great a distance from the sea, that a great deal
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of time is lost in getting to them; and others, in which the bottom is of solid rock, and without varech, so that the fish do not frequent them. There are others again, where the fish grow yellow from a mixture of fresh water with the salt; and some, in which it is burned up by the reverberation of the sun's rays reflected from the mountains. Even in the most favourable harbours, the people are not always sure of a successful fishery. The fish cannot abound equally in all parts; it is sometimes found to the north, sometimes to the south, and at other times in the middle of the coast, according as it is driven by the winds or attracted by the caplin. The fishermen, who happen to fix at a distance from the places which the fish may chuse to frequent, are very unfortunate: for their expences are all thrown away by the impossibility of following the fish with all that is requisite for the fishery.

The fishery ends about the beginning of September, because at that time the sun is no longer powerful enough to dry the fish; but when it has been successful, the managers give over before that time, and make the best of their way either to the Caribbees, or to the Roman Catholic states in Europe, that they may not be deprived of the advantages of the first market, which might be lost by an over stock.

In 1768, France sent out in this trade 114 vessels, carrying in all 15,590 tons; the prime cost of which, together with the first expences of setting out, had amounted to 247,668*l.* 1*s.* The united crews, half of which were employed in taking the fish, and the other half in curing it, consisted of 8022 men. Every fisherman must have taken for his share 6000 cod, and consequently the produce of the whole must have been 24,066,000 cod. Experience shews that there are 125 cod to each quintal. Consequently 24,066,000 must have made 162,528 quintals.

quintal upon an average sold at about 14*s.* 5*d.* which makes for the whole sale 138,875*l.* 17*s.* 2 3-4*d.* As every hundred quintal of cod yields one barrel of oil, 192,528 quintals must have yielded 1925 barrels, which at 5*l.* 5*s.* a barrel, makes 10,106*l.* 5*s.* Add to these, the profits of freight made by the ships in returning home from the ports where they sold their cargoes, which are estimated at 8662*l.* 10*s.* and the total profits of the fishery will not be found to have amounted to more than 157,644*l.* 12*s.* 2. 3-4*d.*

We may spare our readers a detail of the expences of unloading, which are as troublesome in their minuteness as in their insignificancy. The calculations of these have been made with the greatest care and attention, and the accounts confirmed by very intelligent and disinterested men, who from their professions must have been the proper judges of this matter. They amount in the whole, to 30,436*l.* 10*s.* 9*d.* so that the nett produce of the fishery amounted only to 127,208*l.* 11*s.* 3. 1-2*d.*

From these profits the insurance-money must be deducted, which at 6 per cent. upon a capital of 247,668*l.* 15*s.* amounts to 14,860*l.* 2*s.* 6*d.* We must also reckon the interest of the money; making, at 5 per cent. 12,383*l.* 8*s.* 9*d.* Neither must we omit the wear of the ships; the prime cost of which, making half the whole capital, must be set down at 123,834*l.* 7*s.* 6*d.* This wear therefore, which cannot be reckoned at less than 6 per cent. must amount to 6191*l.* 14*s.* 4. 1-2*d.* Admitting all these circumstances, which indeed cannot be called in question, it follows that the French have lost upon this fishery, in 1768, 30,061*l.* 1*s.* 2*d.* and consequently 10. 7. 3-8*d.* per cent. of their capital.

Such losses, which unfortunately have been but too often repeated, will wear the nation more and more
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from this ruinous branch of trade. Individuals who still carry it on, will soon give it up; and it is even probable, that, in imitation of the English, they would have done so already, if like them they had been able to make themselves amends by the stationary fishery.

By Stationary Fishery, we are to understand that which is made by the Europeans who have settlements on those coasts of America where the cod is most plentiful. It is infinitely more profitable than the wandering fishery, because it requires much less expence, and may be continued much longer. These advantages the French enjoyed as long as they remained peaceable possessors of Acadia, Cape Breton, Canada, and part of Newfoundland. They have lost them one after another by the errors of government; and, from the wreck of these riches, have only preserved a right of salting and drying their fish to the north of Newfoundland, from cape Bona Vista to Point Rich. All the fixed establishments left by the peace of 1763, are reduced to the island of St Peters, and the two islands of Miquelon, which they are not even at liberty to build fortifications upon. There are 800 inhabitants at St Peters, not more than one hundred at great Miquelon, and only one family on the smaller. The fishery, which is extremely convenient upon the two first, is entirely impracticable on the lesser island; but this last supplies them both with wood, and particularly St Peters, which had none of its own. Nature however, has made amends for this deficiency at St Peters, by an excellent harbour, which indeed is the only one in this small archipelago. In 1768, they took 24,390 quintals of cod: but this quantity will not much increase; because the English not only refuse the French the liberty of fishing in the narrow channel which separates these islands from the southern coasts of Newfoundland,

land, but have even seized some of the sloops which attempted it.

This severity, which is not warranted by treaty, and only maintained by force, is rendered still more odious by the extensiveness of their own possessions, which reach to all the islands where the fish is to be found. Their principal settlement is at Newfoundland, where there are about 8000 English, who are all employed in the fishery. No more than nine or ten ships a-year are sent out from the mother country for this purpose; and there are some few more which engage in other articles of commerce; but the greater part only exchange the productions of Europe for fish, or carry off the fruit of the industry of the inhabitants.

Before 1755, the fisheries of the two rival nations were nearly equal, from their own accounts; with this difference only, that France, on account of its population and religion, consumed more at home, and sold less: but since she has lost her possessions in North America one year with another, the two fisheries, that is the Stationary and the Wandering, united, have not yielded more than 216,918 quintals of dry cod; which is barely sufficient for the consumption of its southern provinces at home, and of course admits of no exportation to the colonies.

It may be asserted, that the rival nation, on the contrary, has increased its fishery two thirds since its conquests, making in all 651,115 quintals; the profits of which valuing each quintal at no more than 12s 3d. a difference owing to its being cured with less care than the French fish, will amount to 398,807 L. 6s. 6d. One fourth of this is sufficient for the consumption of Great Britain and her colonies; consequently what is sold in Spain, Portugal, and all the sugar-islands, amounts to a sum of 299,105l. 9s. 10s. 4d. returned to the mother country either in specie

SETTLEMENTS IN AMERICA. 57

or commodities. This object of exportion would have been still more considerable, if, when the court of London made the conquest of Cape Breton and St. John's, they had not been so inhuman as to drive out the French whom they found settled there; who have never yet been replaced, and probably never will be. The same bad policy has also been followed in Nova Scotia.

C H A P. III.

Of N O V A S C O T I A.

1. *The French give it up to England, after having been a long time in possession of it themselves.*

NOVA SCOTIA, by which is at present to be understood all the coast of 300 leagues in length contained between the limits of New England and the south coast of the river St Lawrence, seemed at first to have comprehended only the great traingular peninsula lying nearly in the middle of this space. This peninsula, which the French called Acadia, is extremely well situated for the ships which come from the Caribbees to water at. It offers them a great number of excellent ports in which ships may enter and go out of with all winds. There is a great quantity of cod upon the coast, and still more upon small banks at the distance of a few leagues. The soil, which is very gravelly, is extremely convenient for drying the cod: it abounds besides with good wood, and land fit for several sorts of cultivation, and extremely well situated for the fur trade of the neighbouring continent. Tho' this climate is in the temperate zone, the winters are long and severe; and they are followed by sudden
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and excessive heats, to which generally succeed very thick fogs, which last a long time. These circumstances make this rather a disagreeable country, tho' it cannot be reckoned an unwholesome one.

It was in 1604 that the French settled in Acadia, four years before they had built the smallest hut in Canada. Instead of fixing towards the east of the peninsula, where they would have had larger seas, an easy navigation, and plenty of cod, they chose a small bay afterwards called the French bay, which had none of these advantages. It has been said, that they were induced by the beauty of Port-Royal; where a thousand ships may ride in safety from every wind, where there is an excellent bottom, and at all times four or five fathom of water, and eighteen at the entrance. It is most probable that the founders of this colony were led to chuse this situation, from its vicinity to the countries abounding in furs, of which the exclusive trade had been granted to them. This conjecture is confirmed by the following circumstance: That both the first monopolizers, and those who succeeded them, took the utmost pains to divert the attention of their countrymen, whom restlessness or necessity brought into these regions, from the clearing of the woods, the breeding of cattle, from fishing, and from every kind of culture; chusing rather to engage the industry of these adventurers in hunting, or in trading with the savages.

The mischiefs arising from a false system of administration at length discovered the fatal effects of exclusive charters. It would be an insult to the truth and dignity of history to say that this happened in France from any attention to the common rights of the nation, at a time when these rights were most openly violated. This sacred tie, which alone can secure the safety of the people, while it gives a sanc-
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tion to the power of kings, was never known in France. But in the most absolute government a spirit of ambition sometimes affects what in equitable and moderate ones is done from principles of justice. The ministers of Lewis XIV. who wished to make their master respectable, that they might reflect some dignity on themselves, perceived that they should not succeed without the support of riches; and that a people to whom nature has not given any mines, cannot acquire wealth but by agriculture and commerce. Both these resources had been hitherto choked up in the colonies by the restraints laid upon all things from an improper interference. These impediments were at last removed; but Acadia either knew not how, or was not able, to make use of this liberty.

This colony was yet in its infancy, when the settlement which has since become so famous under the name of New-England was first made in its neighbourhood. The rapid success of the cultures in this new colony did not much attract the notice of the French. This kind of prosperity did not excite any jealousy between the two nations. But when they began to suspect that there was likely to be a competition for the beaver trade and furs, they endeavoured to secure to themselves the sole property of it; and they were unfortunate enough to succeed.

At their first arrival in Acadia, they had found the peninsula, as well as the forests of the neighbouring continent, peopled with small nations of savages who went under the general name of Abenakies. Though equally fond of war as other savage nations, they were, however, more sociable in their manners. The missionaries, easily insinuating themselves amongst them, had so far inculcated their tenets, as to make enthusiasts of them. At the same time that they taught them their religion, they inspired them with that hat-
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red which they themselves entertained for the English name. This fundamental article of their new worship, being that which most exerted its influence on their senses, and the only one that favoured their passion for war; they adopted it with all the rage that was natural to them. They not only refused to make any exchange with the English, but also frequently attacked and plundered their settlements. Their attacks became more frequent, more obstinate, and more regular, since they had chosen St Castains, formerly captain of the regiment of Carignan, for their commander; he having settled among them, married one of their women, and conformed, in every respect, to their mode of life.

When the English saw that all efforts either to reconcile the savages, or to destroy them in their forests were ineffectual, they fell upon Acadia, which they looked upon with reason as the only cause of all these calamities. Whenever the least hostility took place between the two mother countries, the peninsula was attacked. Having no defence from Canada, from which it was too far distant, and very little from Portroyal, which was only surrounded by a few weak palisadoes, it was constantly taken. It undoubtedly afforded some satisfaction to the New-Englanders to ravage this colony, and to retard its progress; but still this was not sufficient to dispel the suspicions excited by a nation almost more formidable by what she is able to do, than by what she really does. Obligated as they were, however unwillingly, to restore their conquest at each treaty of peace, they waited with impatience till Great Britain should acquire such a superiority as would enable her to dispense with this restitution. The end of the war on account of the Spanish succession brought on the decisive moment; and the
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court of Versailles was for ever deprived of a possession of which it had never known the importance.

The ardour which the English had shewn for the possession of this territory did not manifest itself afterwards in the care they took to maintain or to improve it. Having built a very slight fortification at Port-royal, which had taken the name of Annapolis in honour of Queen Anne, they contented themselves with putting a very small garrison in it. The indifference shewn by the government infected the nation, a circumstance not usual in a free country. Not more than five English families came over to Acadia, which still remained inhabited by the first colonists; who were only persuaded to stay upon a promise made them of never being compelled to bear arms against their ancient country. Such was the attachment which the French then had for the honour of their country: Cherished by the government, respected by foreign nations, and attached to their king by a series of prosperities which had rendered them illustrious, and aggrandized them, they were inspired with that spirit of patriotism which arises from success. They considered it as glorious to bear the name of Frenchmen, and could not think of foregoing the title. The Acadians, therefore, who, in submitting to a new yoke had sworn never to bear arms against their former standards, were called the French Neutrals.

There were twelve or thirteen hundred of them settled in the capital, the rest were dispersed in the neighbouring country. No magistrate was ever set over them; and they were never acquainted with the laws of England. No rents or taxes of any kind were ever exacted from them. Their new sovereign seemed to have forgotten them; and he himself was a total stranger to them.

42 . HISTORY OF THE BRITISH

2. *Manners of the French who remained subject to the English government in Nova Scotia.*

HUNTING and fishing, which had formerly been the delight of the colony, and might have still supplied it with subsistence, had no further attraction for simple and quiet people, and gave way to agriculture. It had been established in the marshes and the low lands by repelling the sea and rivers, which covered these plains, with dikes. These grounds yielded fifty for one at first, and afterwards fifteen or twenty for one at least. Wheat and oats succeeded best in them; but they likewise produced rye, barley, and maize. There were also potatoes in great plenty, the use of which was become common.

At the same time the immense meadows were covered with numerous flocks. They computed as much as sixty thousand head of horned cattle; and most families had several horses, though the tillage was carried on by oxen. The habitations, built all of wood, were extremely convenient, and furnished as neatly as a substantial former's house in Europe. They bred a great deal of poultry of all kinds, which made a variety in their food for the most part wholesome and plentiful. Their common drink was beer or cyder, to which they sometimes added rum. Their usual clothing was in general the produce of their own flax or the fleeces of their own sheep. With these they made common linens and coarse cloths. If any of them had a desire for articles of greater luxury, they drew them from Annapolis or Louisbourg, and gave in exchange corn, cattle, or furs.

The neutral French had nothing else to give their neighbours, and made still fewer exchanges among themselves, because each separate family was able and had
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had been used to provide for its own wants. They, therefore knew nothing of paper-currency, which was so common throughout the rest of North America. Even the small quantity of specie which had slipped into the colony did not inspire that activity in which consists its real value.

Their manners were of course extremely simple. There never was a cause, either civil or criminal, of importance enough to be carried before the court of judicature established at Annapolis. Whatever little differences arose from time to time among them were amicably adjusted by their elders. All their public acts were drawn by their pastors, who had likewise the keeping of their wills, for which and their religious services the inhabitants paid a twenty-seventh part of their harvest.

These were always plentiful enough to afford more means than there were objects for generosity. Real misery was entirely unknown, and benevolence prevented the demands of poverty. Every misfortune was relieved, as it were, before it could be felt, without ostentation on the one hand, and without meanness on the other. It was in short a society of brethren, every individual of which was equally ready to give and to receive what he thought the common right of mankind.

So perfect a harmony naturally prevented all those connections of gallantry which are so often fatal to the peace of families. There never was an instance in this society of an unlawful commerce between the two sexes. This evil was prevented by early marriages; for no one passed his youth in a state of celibacy. As soon as a young man came to the proper age, the community built him a house, broke-up the lands about it, sowed them, and supplied them with all the necessaries of life for a twelvemonth. Here he received

ceived the partner whom he had chosen, and who brought him her portion in flocks. This new family grew and prospered like the others. In 1749, all together made a population of eighteen thousand souls.

At this period Great Britain perceived of what consequence the possession of Acadia might be to her commerce. The peace, which necessarily left a great number of men without employment, furnished an opportunity, by the disbanding of the troops, for peopling and cultivating a vast and fertile territory. The British ministry offered particular advantages to all who would go over and settle in Acadia. Every soldier, sailor, and workman, was to have fifty acres of land himself, and ten for every person he carried over in his family. All non-commissioned officers were allowed eighty for themselves, and fifty for their wives and children; ensigns, 200; lieutenants, 300; captains, 460; and all officers of a higher rank, 600; together with thirty for each of their dependents. The land was to be tax free for the first ten years and never to pay above one shilling for fifty acres. Besides this, the government engaged to advance or reimburse the expences of passage, to build houses, to furnish all the necessary instruments for fishery or agriculture, and to defray the expences of subsistence for one year. These encouragements determined three thousand seven hundred and fifty persons, in the month of may 1749, to go to America rather than run the risk of starving in Europe.

The new colony was intended to form an establishment to the south east of Acadia, in a place which the savages had formerly called Chebucto, and the English Halifax. This situation was preferred to several others where the soil was better, for the sake of establishing in its neighbourhood an excellent cod fishery,

ery, and fortifying one of the finest harbours in America. But as it was the spot most favourable for the chase, the English were obliged to dispute it with the Micmac Indians, who mostly frequented it. These savages defended with obstinacy a territory they held from nature; and it was not till after very great losses that the English drove them out from their possessions.

This war was not entirely finished, when there was some agitation discovered among the neutral French. A people, whose manners were so simple, and who enjoyed such liberty, could not but perceive that it was impossible there should be any serious thoughts in settling in countries so near to them without their independance being affected by it. To this apprehension was added that of seeing their religion in danger. Their priests, either heated by their own enthusiasm, or secretly instigated by the governors of Canada, persuaded them to credit every thing they chose to suggest against the English, whom they called Heretics. This word, which has so powerful an influence on deluded minds, determined this happy American colony to quite their habitations and remove to New France, where they were offered lands. This resolution many of them executed immediately, without considering the consequences of it; the rest were preparing to follow, as soon as they had provided for their safety. The English government, either from policy or caprice, determined to prevent them by an act of treachery, always base and cruel in those to whom power affords milder methods. Under a pretence of exacting a renewal of the oath which they had taken at the time of their becoming English subjects, they assembled those together who were not gone; and when they had collected them, immediately embarked them on board of ships, which transported them to

the other English colonies, where the greater part of them died of grief and vexation rather than want.

Such are the fruits to national jealousies, of that rapaciousness inherent of all governments which incessantly preys both upon mankind and upon land! What an enemy loses is reckoned a gain; what he gains is looked upon as a loss. When a town cannot be taken, it is starved; when it cannot be maintained, it is burnt to ashes, or its foundation rased. Rather than surrender, a ship or a fortification is blown up by powder and by mines. A despotic government separates its enemies from its slaves by immense desarts, to prevent the eruptions of the one and the emigrations of the other.

Thus Spain chose rather to make a wilderness of her own country, and a grave of America, than to divide its riches with any other of the European nations. The Dutch have been guilty of every public and private crime to deprive other commercial nations of the spice-trade. They have oftentimes even thrown whole cargoes into the sea, rather than they would sell them at a low price. France rather chose to give up Louisiana to the Spainards, than to let it fall into hands of the English; and England destroyed the French vessels, to prevent their returning to France. Can we assert, after this, that policy and society were instituted for the happiness of mankind? Yes, they were instituted to screen the wicked man, and to secure the man in power.

3. *Present State of Nova Scotia.*

SINCE the emigration of a people who owed their happiness to their virtuous obscurity, Nova Scotia has *been but thinly inhabited*. It seems as if the envy that *depopulated* the country had blasted it. At least the
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punishment of the injustice falls upon the authors of it; for there is not a single inhabitant to be seen upon all that length of coast between the river St. Lawrence and the peninsula; nor do the rocks, the sands, and marshes, with which it is at present covered, make it probable that it ever will be peopled. The cod, indeed, which abounds in some of its bays, draws every year a small number of fishermen during the season.

There are only three settlements in the rest of the province. Annapolis, the most ancient of them, waits for fresh inhabitants to take the place of the unhappy Frenchmen who were driven from it; and it seems to promise them rich returns from the fertility of her soil.

Lunenburg, the second settlement, was founded a few years ago by 800 Germans come from Halifax. At first, it did not promise much success; but it is considerably improved by the unremitting industry of that warlike and wise people, who, contented with defending their own territory, seldom go out of it, but to cultivate others which they are not ambitious of conquering. They have fertilized all the countries under the English dominion, wherever chance had conducted them.

Halifax will always continue to be the principal place of the province; an advantage it owes to the encouragements lavished upon it by the mother country. Their expences for this settlement from its first foundation to the year 1769, amounted to more than 3937*l.* 10*s.* per annum. Such favours were not ill bestowed upon a city, which, from its situation, is the natural rendezvous of both the land and sea forces which Great Britain sometimes thinks herself obliged to maintain in America, as well for the defence of her fisheries and the protection of her sugar-lands, as

for the purpose of maintaining her connections with her northern colonies. Halifax, indeed, derives more of its splendor from the motion and activity which is constantly kept up in its ports, than either from its cultivation which is trifling, or from its fisheries, which have not been considerably improved, though they consist of cod, mackerel, and the seal. It is not even in the state it should be as a fortified town. The malversations of persons employed, who instead of the fortifications ordered and paid for by the mother country, have only erected a few batteries without any ditch round the city, make it liable to fall without resistance into the hands of the first enemy that attacks it. In 1757, the inhabitants of the county of Halifax rated the value of their houses, cattle, and merchandize, at about 295,312*l.* 10*s.* This sum, which makes about two thirds of the riches of the whole province, has not increased above one fourth since that time.

The desire of putting a stop to this state of languor was, probably, one of the motives which induced the British government to constitute a court of admiralty for all North America, and to place the seat of it at Halifax, in 1763. Before this period, the justices of peace used to be the judges of all violations of the act of navigation; but the partiality these magistrates used to shew in their judgments for the colony where they were born, and which had chosen them, made their ministry useless, and even prejudicial to the mother country. It was presumed, that if enlightened men were sent from Europe, and well supported, they would impress more respect for their determination. The event has justified this policy. Since that regulation, the commercial laws have been better observed; but still great inconveniences have ensued *from the distance of many provinces from the seat of*
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SETTLEMENTS IN AMERICA. 69

this new tribunal. It is probable, that, to remedy these, administration will be forced to multiply the number of the courts, and disperse them in places convenient for the people to have access to them. Nova Scotia will then lose the temporary advantage it gains from being the resort of those who come for justice; but it will, probably, find out other natural sources of wealth within itself. It has some, indeed, that are peculiar to it. The exceeding fine flax it produces, of which the three kingdoms are so much in want, must hasten the progress of its improvement.

C H A P. IV.

OF NEW ENGLAND.

1. *Foundation.*

NEW ENGLAND, like the mother country, has signalized itself by many acts of violence; and was actuated by the same turbulent spirit. It took its rise in troublesome times, and its infant-state was disturbed with many dreadful commotions. It was discovered in the beginning of the last century, and called North Virginia; but no Europeans settled there till the year 1608. The first colony, which was weak and ill directed, did not succeed; and for some time after, there were only a few adventurers who came over at times in the summer, built themselves temporary huts for the sake of trading with the savages, and like them disappeared again for the rest of the year. Fanaticism, which had depopulated America to the south, was destined to repopulate it in the north. At length some English presbyterians, who had been driven from their own country, and had
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taken refuge in Holland, that universal asylum of liberty, resolved to found a church for their sect in a new hemisphere. They therefore purchased, in 1621, the charter of the English North Virginia Company: for they were not poor enough to wait in patience till their virtues should have made them prosperous. Forty-one families, making in all 120 persons, set out, guided by enthusiasm, which, whether founded upon error or truth, is always productive of great actions. They landed at the beginning of a very hard winter; and found a country entirely covered with wood, which offered a very melancholy prospect to men already exhausted with the fatigues of their journey. Near one half perished either from the cold, the scurvy, or distrels; the rest were kept alive for some time by a spirit of enthusiasm, and the steadiness of character they had contracted under the persecution of episcopal tyranny. But their courage was beginning to fail, when it was revived by the arrival of sixty savage warriors, who came to them in the spring, headed by their chief. Freedom seemed to exult that she had thus brought together from the extremities of the world two such different people; who immediately entered into a reciprocal alliance of friendship and protection. The old tenants assigned for ever to the new ones all the lands in the neighbourhood of the settlement they had formed under the name of New Plymouth; and one of the savages, who understood a little English, staid with them to teach them how to cultivate the maize, and instruct them in the manner of fishing upon their coast.

This kindness enabled the colony to wait for the companions they expected from Europe, with seeds and all sorts of domestic animals. At first they came but slowly; but the persecution of the puritans in England increased the number of proselytes (as it
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always the case) to such a degree in America, that, in 1630, they were obliged to form different settlements, of which Boston soon became the principal. These first settlers were not merely ecclesiastics, who had been driven out of their preferment for their opinions; nor those sectaries, influenced by new opinions, that are so frequent among the common people. There were among them several persons of high rank, who having embraced puritanism either from motives of caprice, ambition, or even of conscience, had taken the precaution to secure themselves an asylum in these distant regions. They had caused houses to be built, and lands to be cleared, with a view of retiring there, if their endeavours in the cause of civil and religious liberty should prove abortive. The same fanatical spirit that had introduced anarchy into the mother country, kept the colony in a state of subordination; or rather, a severity of manners had the same effect as laws in a savage climate.

The inhabitants of New England lived peaceably for a long time without any regular form of polity. It was not that their charter had not authorised them to establish any mode of government they might chuse but these enthusiasts were not agreed amongst themselves upon the plan of their republic, and government was not sufficiently concerned about them to urge them to secure their own tranquillity. At length they grew sensible of the necessity of a regular legislation; and this great work, which virtue and genius united have never attempted but with diffidence, was boldly undertaken by blind fanaticism. It bore the stamp of the rude prejudices on which it had been formed.

There was in this new code a singular mixture of good and evil, of wisdom and folly. No man was allowed to have any share in the government, except
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he was a member of the established church. Witchcraft, perjury, blasphemy, and adultery, were made capital offences; and children were also punished with death, either for cursing or striking their parents. On the other hand marriages were to be solemnized by the magistrate. The price of corn was fixed at 4s. 11d. halfpenny per bushel. The savages who neglected to cultivate their lands were to be deprived of them by law. Europeans were forbidden under a heavy penalty to sell them any strong liquors or warlike stores. All those who were detected either in lying, or drunkenness, or dancing, were ordered to be publicly whipped. But at the same time that amusements were forbidden equally with vices and crimes, one might swear by paying the penalty of a shilling, and break the sabbath for three pounds. It was esteemed an indulgence to be able to atone by money for a neglect of prayer, or for uttering a rash oath. But it is still more extraordinary that the worship of images was forbidden to the puritants on pain of death; which was also inflicted on Roman Catholic priests who should return to the colony after they had been banished, and on Quakers who should appear again after having been whipped, branded and expelled. Such was the abhorrence of these sectaries, who had themselves an aversion for every kind of cruelty, that whoever either brought one of them into the country, or harboured him but for one hour, was exposed to pay a considerable fine.

2 Fanaticism occasions great calamities there.

THOSE unfortunate members of the colony, who, less violent than their brethren, ventured to deny the coercive power of the magistrate in matters of religion, were persecuted with still greater rigour. This appeared

peared a blasphemy to those divines who had rather chosen to quite their country than to shew any deference to episcopal authority. By that natural tendency of the human heart from the love of independance to that tyranny, they changed their opinions as they changed the climate; and only seemed to arrogate freedom of thought to themselves in order to deny it to others. This system was supported by the severities of the law, which attempted to put a stop to every difference in opinion, by imposing capital punishment on all who dissented. Whoever was either convicted, or even suspected, of entertaining sentiments of toleration, was exposed to such cruel oppressions that they were forced to fly from their first asylum, and seek refuge in another. They found one on the same continent; and as New England had been first founded by persecution, its limits were extended by it. This severity which a man turns against himself, or against his fellow-creatures, and makes him either the victim or the oppressor, soon exerted itself against the Quakers. They were whipped, banished, and imprisoned. The proud simplicity of these new enthusiasts, who in the midst of tortures and ignominy praised God, and called for blessings upon men, inspired a reverence for their persons and opinions, and gained them a number of proselytes. This circumstance exasperated their persecutors, and hurried them on to the most atrocious acts of violence; and they caused five of them, who had returned clandestinely from banishment, to be hanged. It seemed as if the English had come to America to exercise upon their own countrymen the same cruelty the Spaniards had used against the Indians. This spirit of persecution was at last suppressed by the interposition of the mother country, from whence it had been brought.

Cromwell was no more: enthusiasm, hypocrisy, and fanaticism, which composed his character; factions, rebellions, and proscriptions; were all buried with him, and England had the prospect of calmer days. Charles the second, at his restoration, had introduced amongst his subjects a social turn, a taste for convivial pleasures, gallantry, and diversions, and for all those amusements he had been engaged in while he was wandering from one court to another in Europe, to recover the crown which his father had lost upon a scaffold. Nothing but such a total change of manners could possibly have secured the tranquillity of his government upon a throne marked with blood. He was one of those voluptuaries, whom the love of sensual pleasures sometimes excites to sentiments of compassion and humanity. Moved with the sufferings of the Quakers, he put a stop to them by a proclamation in 1661: but he was never able totally to extinguish the spirit of persecution that prevailed in America.

The colony had placed at their head Henry Vane, the son of that Sir Henry Vane, who had such a remarkable share in the disturbances of his country. This obstinate and enthusiastic young man, in every thing resembling his father, unable either to live peaceably himself, or to suffer others to remain quiet, had contrived to revive the obscure and obsolete questions of grace and free will. The disputes upon these points ran very high; and would, probably, have plunged the colony into a civil war, if several of the savage nations united had not happened at that very time to fall upon the plantations of the disputants, and to massacre great numbers of them. The colonists, heated with their theological contests, paid at first very little attention to this considerable loss. But the danger at length became so urgent and so general, that all took up arms. As soon as the enemy

enemy was repulsed, the colony resumed its former dissensions; and the frenzy which they excited, broke out, in 1692, in a war, marked with as many atrocious instances of violence as any ever recorded in history.

There lived in a town of New England, called Salem, two young women who were subject to convulsions, accompanied with extraordinary symptoms. Their father, minister of the church, thought that they were bewitched; and having in consequence cast his suspicions upon an Indian girl who lived in his house, he compelled her by harsh treatment to confess that she was a witch. Other women, upon hearing this, seduced by the pleasure of exciting the public attention, immediately believed that the convulsions which proceeded only from the nature of their sex, were owing to the same cause. Three citizens, pitched upon by chance, were immediately thrown into prison, accused of witchcraft, hanged, and their bodies left exposed to wild beasts and birds of prey. A few days after, sixteen other persons, together with a counsellor, who, because he refused to plead against them, was supposed to share in their guilt, suffered in the same manner. From this instant, the imagination of the multitude was inflamed with these horrid and gloomy scenes. The innocence of youth, the infirmities of age, virgin modesty, fortune, honour, virtue, the most dignified employments of the state, nothing was sufficient to exempt from the suspicions of a people infatuated with visionary superstition. Children of ten years of age were put to death; young girls were stripped naked, and the marks of witchcraft searched for upon their bodies with the most indecent curiosity; those spots of the scurvy which age impresses upon the bodies of old men, were taken for *evident signs of the infernal power.* Fanaticism,
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wickedness, and vengeance, united, selected out their victims with pleasure. In default of witnesses, torments were employed to extort confessions dictated by the executioners themselves. If the magistrates, tired out with executions, refused to punish, they were themselves accused of the crimes they would no longer pursue; the very ministers of religion raised false witnesses against them, who made them forfeit with their lives the tardy remorse excited in them by humanity. Dreams, apparitions, terror and consternation of every kind, increased these prodigies of folly and horror. The prisons were filled, the gibbets left standing, and all the citizens involved in gloomy apprehensions. The most prudent persons quitted a country imbrued with the blood of its inhabitants; and those that remained sought for nothing but rest in the grave. In a word, nothing less than the total and immediate subversion of the colony was expected; when on a sudden, in the height of the storm, the waves subsided, and a calm ensued. All eyes were opened at once, and the excess of the evil awakened the minds which it had at first stupified. Bitter and painful remorse was the immediate consequence; the mercy of God was implored by a general fast, and public prayers were offered up to ask forgiveness for the presumption of having supposed that heaven could have been pleased with sacrifices with which it could only have been offended.

Posterity will probably never know exactly what was the cause or remedy of this dreadful disorder. It had perhaps, its first origin in the melancholy which these persecuted enthusiasts had brought with them from their own country, which had increased with the scurvy they had contracted at sea, and which had gathered fresh strength from the vapours and exhalations of a soil newly broken up, as well as from the in-

conveniences and hardships insperable from a change of climate and manner of living. The contagion, however, ceased like all other epidemical distempers, exhausted by its very communication ; as all the disorders of the imagination are dispelled in the transports of a delirium. A perfect calm succeeded this agitation ; and the puritans of new England have never since been seized with so gloomy a fit of enthusiasm.

3. *Government, Population, Cultures, Manufactures, Trade, and Navigation, of New England.*

THIS colony, bounded to the north by Canada, to the west by New-York, and to the east and south by Nova Scotia and the ocean, extends full three hundred miles on the borders of the sea, and upwards of fifty miles in the inland parts.

The clearing of the lands is not done by chance as in the other provinces. From the first they were subjected to laws which are still religiously observed. No citizen whatever has the liberty of settling even upon unoccupied land. The government, which was desirous of preserving all its members from the inroads of the savages, and that they should be at hand to partake of the succours of a well regulated society, hath ordered that whole villages should be formed at once. As soon as sixty families offer to build a church, maintain a clergyman, and pay a school-master, the general congress allot them a situation, and permit them to have two representatives in the legislative body of the colony. The district assigned them always borders upon the lands already cleared, and generally contains six thousand square acres. These new people chuse out the spot most convenient for their respective habitations, and it is usually of a square figure. The church is placed in the centre ; and the

colonists dividing the land among themselves, each incloses his property with a hedge. Some woods are reserved for a common. It is thus that New-England is continually aggrandizing itself, without discontinuing to make one complete and well constituted province.

Though the colony is situated in the midst of the temperate zone, yet the climate is not so mild as that of some European provinces which are under the same parallel. The winters are longer, and more cold; the summers shorter and more hot. The sky is commonly clear, and the rains more plentiful than lasting. The air has grown purer since its circulation has been made free by cutting down the woods; and malignant vapours, which at first carried off some of the inhabitants, are no longer complained of.

The country is divided into four provinces, which in the beginning had no connection with one another. The necessity of maintaining an armed force against the savages obliged them to form a confederacy in 1643, at which time they took the name of the United Colonies. In consequence of this league, two deputies from each establishment used to meet in a stated place to deliberate upon the common affairs of New-England, according to the instructions they had received from the assembly by which they were sent. This association controuled in no one point the right which every individual had of acting entirely as he pleased, without either the permission or approbation of the mother country. All the submission of these provinces consisted in a vague acknowledgment of the kings of Britain for their sovereigns.

So slight a dependence displeased Charles II. The province of Massachusetts's bay, which, though the smallest, was the richest and the most populous of the four, being guilty of some misdemeanour against
govern-

government, the king seized that opportunity of taking away its charter in 1684; and it remained without one till the revolution; when it received another, which, however, did not answer its claims or expectations. The crown reserved to itself the right of nominating the governor, and appointing to all military employments, and to all principal posts in the civil and juridical departments: allowing the people of the colony their legislative power, they gave the governor a negative voice and the command of the troops, which secured him a sufficient influence to enable him to maintain the prerogative of the mother country in all its force. The provinces of Connecticut and Rhode-Island, by timely submission, prevented the punishment that of Massachusetts had incurred, and retained their original charter. That of New-Hampshire had been always regulated by the same mode of administration as the province of Massachusetts bay. The same governor presides over the whole colony, but with regulations adapted to the constitution of each province. According to the most exact calculations, the present population of New-England is computed at four hundred thousand inhabitants, which are more numerous to the south than to the north of the colony, where the soil is less fertile. Among such a number of citizens, there are few proprietors wealthy enough to leave the care of their plantations to stewards or farmers: most of them are planters in easy circumstances, who live upon their estates and are busied in the labours of the field. This equality of fortune, joined to the religious principles and to the nature of the government, gives this people a more republican cast than is to be observed in the other colonies.

None of our best fruits have degenerated in New-England; it is even said, that the apple is improved,

at least it has multiplied exceedingly, and made cyder a more common drink than in any other part of the world. All our roots and garden-stuff have had the same success; but the seeds have not thriven quite so well. Wheat is apt to be blighted, barley grows dry, and oats yield more straw than grain. In default of these the maize, which is usually consumed in making beer, is the resource of the common people. There are large and fruitful meadows, which are covered with numerous flocks.

The arts, though carried to a greater degree of perfection in this colony than in any of the others, have not made near the same progress as agriculture. There are not more than four or five manufactures of any importance.

The first which was formed, was that for building of ships. It maintained for a long time a degree of reputation. The vessels out of this dock were in great estimation, the materials of which they were constructed being found much less porous, and much less apt to split than those of the more southern provinces. Since 1730, the numbers of them are considerably diminished, because the woods for building have been little attended to, and used for other purposes. To prevent this inconvenience, it was proposed to forbid the cutting of any of them within ten miles of the sea; and we know not for what reason this law, the necessity of which was so evident, was never put in force. The distilling of rum has succeeded better than the building of ships. It was begun from the facility the New-Englanders had of importing large quantities of molasses from the Caribees. The molasses were at first used in kind for various purposes. By degrees they learnt to distil them. When made into rum, they supplied the neighbouring savages with it, as the Newfoundland fishermen did the other northern

thern provinces, and sailors who frequented the coast of Africa. The degree of imperfection in which this art hath still remained in the colony, has not diminished the sale of it; because they have always been able to afford the rum at a very low price.

The same reason has both supported and increased the manufacture of hats. Though limited by the regulations of the mother country to the internal consumption of the colony, the merchants have found means to surmount these obstacles, and to smuggle pretty large quantities of them into the neighbouring settlements.

The colony sells no cloths, but it buys very few. The fleeces of its flocks, as long, tho' not quite so fine, as the English ones, make coarse stuffs, which do extremely well for plain men who live in the country.

Some Presbyterians who were driven from the north of Ireland by the persecutions either of the government or of the clergy, first taught the New Englanders to cultivate hemp and flax, and to manufacture them. The linens made of them are since become one of the great resources of the colony.

The mother country, whose political calculations have not always coincided with the high opinion entertained of her abilities, has omitted nothing to thwart these several manufactures. She did not perceive, that, by this oppressive conduct of the government, those of her subjects who were employed in clearing this considerable part of the new world must be reduced to the alternative either of abandoning so good a country, or procuring from among themselves the things of general use and of immediate necessity. Indeed; even these resources would not have been sufficient to maintain them, if they had not had the good fortune and the address to open to themselves several
other

other channels of subsistence, the origin and progress of which we most endeavour to trace.

The first resource they met with from without, was in the fishery. It has been encouraged to such a degree, that a regulation has taken place, by which every family who should declare that it had lived upon salt fish for two days in the week for a whole year, should be disburdened of part of their tax. Thus commercial views enjoin abstinence from meat to the protestants, in the same manner as religion prescribes it to the catholics.

Mackerel is caught only in the spring at the mouth of the Pentagouet, a considerable river which empties itself in Fundy bay, towards the extremity of the colony. In the very center of the coast, and near Boston, the cod-fish is always in such plenty, that Cape Cod, notwithstanding the fertility of its soil, is one of the most populous parts of the country. Not content, however, with the fish caught in its own latitudes New England sends every year about two hundred vessels, from thirty-five to forty tons each to the great bank, to Newfoundland, and to Cape Breton, which commonly make three voyages a season, and bring back at least a hundred thousand quintals of cod. Besides, there are larger vessels which sail from the same ports, and exchange provisions for the produce of the fishery of those English who are settled in these frozen and barren regions. All this cod is afterwards distributed in the southern parts of Europe and America.

This is not the only article with which the British islands in the new world are supplied by new England. It furnishes them, besides, horses, oxen, hogs, salt meat, butter, tallow, cheese, flour, biscuit, Indian corn pease, fruits, cyder, hemp, flax, and woods of all kinds. The same commodities pass into the islands belonging to

to the other nations, sometimes openly, sometimes by smuggling, but always in lesser quantities during peace than in time of war. Honduras, Surinam, and other parts of the American continent open similar markets to New England. This province also fetches wines and brandies from the Madeiras and the Azores, and pays for them with cod-fish and corn.

The ports of Italy, Spain, and Portugal, receive annually sixty or seventy of their ships. They come there laden with cod, wood for ship-building, naval stores, corn, and fish-oil; many of them return with olive-oil, salt, wine, and money, immediately to New England, where they land their cargoes clandestinely. By this method, they elude the customs they would be obliged to pay in Great Britain, if they went there, as in pursuance of a positive order they ought to do. The ships which do not return to their original port, are sold in those where they dispose of their cargo. They have frequently no particular address, but are freighted indifferently for every merchant and every port, till they meet with a proper purchaser.

The mother country receives from this colony, yards and masts for the royal navy, planks, pot-ashes, pitch, tar, turpentine, a few furs, and in years of scarcity, some corn. These cargoes come home in ships built by her own merchants, or bought by them of privateers, who build upon speculation.

Besides the trade New England makes of her own productions, she has appropriated great part of the conveying trade between North and South America, in consequence of which the New Englanders are looked upon as the brokers or Hollanders of that part of the world.

Notwithstanding this lively and continued exertion, New England has never yet been able to free herself from debt. She has never been able to pay exactly for
what

what she received from the mother country, either in productions of her own or of foreign industry, or in those from the East-Indies; all which articles of trade amount annually to 393,750 *l*.

She has still, however, trade enough to keep six thousand sailors in constant employment. Her marine consists of five hundred large vessels, which carry all together forty thousand tons burden; besides great number of smaller vessels for fishing and for the coasting trade, which come out indifferently from all the open roads which are spread all over the coast. Almost all of them load and unload at Boston.

Boston, the capital of New England, is situated in a peninsula, about four miles long, at the bottom of the fine bay of Massachusetts, which reaches about eight miles within land. The opening of the bay is sheltered from the impetuosity of the waves by a number of rocks which rise above the water; and by a dozen of small islands, the greater part of which are fruitful and inhabited. These dykes and natural ramparts will not allow more than three ships to come in together. At the end of the last century, a regular citadel, Named Fort William, was erected in one of the islands upon this narrow channel. There are one hundred pieces of cannon, carrying forty-two pounders each, upon it, which are disposed in such a manner, that they can batter a ship fore and aft before it is possible for her to bring her guns to bear. A league further on, there is a very high light-house, the signals from which, in case of invasion, are perceived and repeated by the fortresses along the whole coast; at the same time that Boston has her own light houses, which spread the alarm to all the inland country. Except in the case of a very thick fog, which a few ships may take advantage of to get into some of the smaller islands,

islands, the town has always five or six hours to prepare for the reception of the enemy, and to get together ten thousand militia, which can be raised at twenty-four hours notice. If a fleet should ever be able to pass the artillery of Fort William, it would infallibly be stopped by a couple of batteries, which being erected to the north and south of the place, command the whole bay, and would give time for all the vessels and commercial stores to be sheltered from cannon shot in the river Charles.

Boston port is large enough for six hundred vessels to anchor in it safely and commodiously. There is a magnificent pier constructed, far enough advanced in the sea for the ships to unload their goods without the assistance of a lighter, and to discharge them into the warehouses which are ranged on the north side. At the extremity of the pier the town appears, built in the form of a crescent round the harbour. According to the bills of mortality, which are become with reason the only rule of political arithmetic, it contains about thirty thousand inhabitants, composed of Anabaptists, Quakers, French refugees, English Presbyterians, and Church-of-England men. The houses, furniture, dress, food, conversation, customs, and manners, are so exactly similar to the mode of living in London, that it is impossible to find any other difference but that which arises from the overgrown population of large capitals.

C H A P. X.

Of New York and New Jersey.

1. *New York, founded by the Dutch, passes into the hands of the English.*

NEW-YORK, limited to the east by New-England, and bounded to the west by New-Jersey, occupies at first a very narrow space of twenty miles along the sea-shore, and, insensibly enlarging, extends above a hundred and fifty miles northward in the inland country.

This country was discovered by Henry Hudson in 1609. That celebrated navigator, after having made vain attempts under the patronage of the Dutch East India Company for the discovery of a north-west passage, veered about to the southward, and coasted along the continent, in hopes of making some useful discovery that might prove a kind of indemnification to the society for the trust they had reposed in him. He entered into a considerable river, to which he gave his name; and after having reconnoitred the coast and its inhabitants, returned to Amsterdam from whence he had set sail.

According to the European system, which considers the people of the new world as nothing, this country should have belonged to the Dutch. It had been discovered by a man in their service, who had taken possession of it in their name, and given up to them all the claims which he himself might have to it. His being an Englishman did not in the least invalidate these uncontroversial titles. It must, therefore, have occasioned great surprise, when James L. asserted his pre-

pretensions to it, upon the principle that Hudson was born his subject; as if the real country of any man was not that in which he earns his subsistence. The king was so convinced of this, that he soon gave up the matter; and the republic sent in 1610 to lay the foundation of the colony in a country which was to be called New Belgia. Every thing prospered here. Fortunate beginnings seemed to announce a still greater progress, when in 1664 the colony was exposed to a storm which it could not possibly foresee.

England, which had not at that time those intimate connections with Holland that the ambition and successes of Lewis XIV. have given birth to since, had long seen with a jealous eye the prosperity of a small state in its neighbourhood, which, though but just formed, was always extending its prosperous trade to all parts of the world. She was secretly disturbed at the thoughts of not being on an equality with a power to whom, in the nature of things, she ought to have been greatly superior. These rivals in commerce and navigation, by their vigilance and oeconomy, gained the advantage over her in all the large markets of the whole universe. Every effort she made to establish a competition turned either to her loss or discredit, and she was obliged only to act a secondary part, whilst all the trade then known was evidently centering itself in the republic. At length, the nation felt the disgrace of her merchants; and resolved that what they could not compass by industry should be secured to them by force. Charles II. notwithstanding his aversion for business, and his immoderate love of pleasure, eagerly adopted a measure which gave him a prospect of acquiring the riches of these distant regions, together with the maritime empire of Europe. His brother, more active and more enterprising than himself, encouraged him in these dispositions; and the deliberation

tion concluded with their ordering the Dutch ships to be attacked, without any previous declaration of war.

An English fleet appeared before New Belgia in the month of August. It had three thousand men on board; and so numerous a force precluding every idea as well as every hope of resistance, the colony submitted as soon as it was summoned. The conquest was secured to the victors by the treaty of Breda; but it was again taken from them in 1673, when the intrigues of France had found means to set two powers at variance, who for their mutual interests ought always to be friends. A second treaty restored New Belgia to the English, who have remained in quiet possession of it ever since under the name of New York.

It had taken that name from the duke of York, to whom it had been given by the king in 1664. As soon as he had recovered it, he governed it upon the same arbitrary principles which afterwards deprived him of the throne. His deputies, in whose hands were lodged powers of every kind, not contented with the exercise of the public authority, constituted themselves arbitrators in all private disputes. The country was then inhabited by Hollanders who had preferred these plantations to their own country, and by colonists who had come from New England. These people had been too long accustomed to liberty, to submit patiently for any time to so arbitrary an administration. Every thing seemed tending either to an insurrection or an emigration, when in 1683 the colony was invited to chuse representatives to settle its form of government. Time produced some other changes; but it was not till 1691 that a fixed plan of government was adopted, which has been followed ever since.

At the head of the colony is a governor appointed by the crown; which likewise appoints twelve counsellors, without whose concurrence the governor can sign no act. The commons are represented by twenty-seven deputies, chosen by the inhabitants; and these several bodies constitute the general assembly, in which every power is lodged. The duration of this assembly, originally unlimited, was afterwards fixed at three years, and now continues for seven, like the British parliament, whose revolutions it has followed.

2. *Flourishing state of New York. Causes of its prosperity.*

SUPPORTED upon a government so solid, so favourable to that liberty which makes every thing prosper, the colony gave itself up entirely to all the labours which its situation could require or encourage. A climate much milder than that of New England, a soil superior to it for the cultivation of corn, and equally fit for that of every other production, soon enabled it to vie successfully with an establishment that had got the start of it in all its productions and in all the markets. If it was not equal in its manufactures, this inferiority was amply compensated by a fur-trade infinitely more considerable. These means of prosperity, united to a very great degree of toleration in religious matters, have raised its population to one hundred and fifty thousand inhabitants; five and twenty thousand of whom are able to bear arms, and constitute the national militia.

The colony would still have flourished much more, had not its prosperity been obstructed by the fanaticism of two governors, the oppressive conduct of some others, and the extravagant grants made to some individuals in too high favour; but these inconveni-

ces, which are only temporary under the British government, have some of them ceased, and the rest of them are lessened. The province may, therefore, expect to see her productions doubly increased, if the two thirds of its territory, which still remain uncultivated, should yield as much as the one third which has already been cultivated.

It is impossible to foresee what influence these riches may have upon the minds of the inhabitants; but it is certain they have not yet abused those they have hitherto acquired. The Dutch, who were the first founders of the colony, planted in it that spirit of order and oeconomy which is the characteristic of their nation; and as they always made up the bulk of the people, even after these had changed masters, the example of their decent manners was imitated by all the new colonists brought amongst them by the conquest. The Germans, compelled to take refuge in America by the persecution which drove them out of the Palatinate or from the other provinces of the empire, were naturally inclined to this simple and modest way of life; and the English and French, who were not accustomed to so much frugality, soon conformed, either from motives of wisdom or emulation, to a mode of living less expensive and more familiar than that which is regulated by fashion and parade.

What has been the consequence? That the colony has never run in debt with the mother country; that it has by that means preserved an entire liberty in its sales and purchases, and been enabled always to give to its affairs the direction which has been most advantageous to them. Had the representatives carried the same principles into their administration, the province would not have entered precipitately into engagements, the burden of which it already feels.

Both

Both the banks of Hudson's river are laid out in the plantations of the colony, which enliven and decorate these borders. It is upon this magnificent canal, which is navigable day and night, in all seasons, and where the tide runs up above a hundred and sixty miles in the land, that every thing which is intended for the general market is embarked in vessels of forty or fifty tons burden. The staple itself, which is near the sea, is extremely well situated for receiving all the merchandize of the province, and all that comes from LONG ISLAND, which is only separated from the continent by a narrow channel.

This island, which takes its name from its figure, is one hundred and twenty miles in length by twelve in breadth. It was formerly very famous for the great number of whales and sea-calves taken in its neighbourhood; but whether it is that the frequent fisheries have driven away these animals, which generally seek quiet seas and desert shores, they have disappeared, and another branch of industry has been found to supply their loss. As the pastures are most excellent, the breeding of all kinds of cattle, and particularly horses, has been much attended to, without neglecting any other branch of cultivation. All these different riches flow to the principal market, which is also increased by productions brought from a greater distance. Some parts of New England and New Jersey find their account in pouring their stores into this magazine.

This mart is a very considerable town, which at present has the same name as the colony, and is called NEW YORK. It was formerly built by the Dutch, who gave it the name of New Amsterdam, in an island called Manahatton, which is fourteen leagues long, and not very broad. In 1756, its population amounted to 10,468 whites, and 2,275 negroes. There is

not

not any town where the air is better, or where there is a more general appearance of ease and plenty. Both the public edifices and private houses convey the idea of solidity united to convenience. If the city, however, were attacked with vigour, it would hardly hold out twenty-four hours, having no other defence of the road or the town, except a bad fort, and a stone-retranchment.

New York, which stands at the distance of about two miles from the mouth of Hudson's river, has, properly speaking, neither port or basin; but it does not want either, because its road is sufficient. It is from thence that 250 or 300 ships are dispatched every year for the different ports of Europe and America. England receives but a small part of them; but they are the richest, because they are those whose cargo consists in furs and beaver skins. The manner in which the colony gets possession of these peltries, is now to be explained.

As soon as the Dutch had built New Amsterdam in a situation which they thought favourable for the intercourse with Europe, they next endeavoured to establish an advantageous trade there. The only thing at that time in request from North America was furs; but as the neighbouring savages offered but few, and those indifferent ones, there was a necessity of pushing to the north to have them better, and in larger quantities. In consequence of this, a project was formed for an establishment on the banks of Hudson's river, 150 miles distance from the capital. The circumstances fortunately proved favourable for obtaining the consent of the Iroquois, to whom the territory belonged. This brave nation happened to be then at war with the French, who were just arrived in Canada. Upon an agreement to supply them with the same arms that their enemies used, they allowed the
Dutch

Dutch to build Fort Orange, which was afterwards called Fort Albany. There was never the least dispute between the two nations; on the contrary, the Dutch, with the assistance of their powder, lead, and guns, which they used to give in exchange for skins, secured to themselves not only what they could get by their own hunting in all the five countries, but even the spoils collected by the Iroquois warriors in their expeditions.

Though the English, upon their taking possession of the colony, maintained the union with the savages, they did not think seriously of extending the fur-trade till the revocation of the edict of Nantes in 1685. introduced among them the art of making beaver hats. Their efforts were for a long time ineffectual, and there were chiefly two obstacles to their success. The French were accustomed to draw from Albany itself coverlets, thick worsted stuffs, different iron and copper manufactures, even arms and ammunition; all which they could sell to the savages with so much the more advantage as these goods bought at Albany cost them one third less than they would have done any other way. Besides, the American nations, who were separated from New York by the country of the Iroquois, in which nobody chose to venture far, could hardly treat with any but the French.

Burnet, who was governor of the British colony in 1720, was either the first who saw the evil, or the first who ventured to strike at the root of it. He made the general assembly forbid all communication between Albany and Canada, and then obtained the consent of the Iroquois to build and fortify the factory of Oswego at his own expence, on that part of the lake Ontario by which most of the savages must pass in their way to Montreal. In consequence of these two operations, the beavers and the other peltries were
 pretty

pretty equally divided between the French and British. The accession of Canada cannot but increase at present the share New York had in the trade, as the latter is better situated for it than the country which disputed with her.

If the British colony has gained by the acquisition of Canada, it does not appear to have lost any thing by being separated from New Jersey, which formerly made a part of New Belgia, under the title of New Sweden.

3. *In what manner New Jersey fell into the hands of the English. Its present state.*

THE Swedes were, in fact, the first Europeans who settled in this region about the year 1639. The neglect in which they were left by their own country, which was too weak to be able to extend its protection to them at so great a distance; obliged them, at the end of sixteen years, to give themselves up to the Dutch, who united this acquisition to New Belgia. When the duke of York received the grant of the two countries, he separated them; and divided the least of them, called New Jersey, between two of his favourites

Carteret and Berkeley, the first of whom had received the eastern, and the other the western part of the province, had solicited this vast territory with no other view but to put it up to sale. Several adventurers accordingly bought large districts of them at a low price which they divided and sold again in smaller parcels. In the midst of these subdivisions, the colony became divided into two distinct provinces, each separately governed by the original proprietors. The exercise of this right growing at length inconvenient, as indeed it was ill adapted to the situation of a subject, they gave up their charter to the crown in 1702; and from that

that time the two provinces became one, and were directed, like the greater part of the other British colonies, by a governor, a council, and a general assembly.

New Jersey, situated between 39 and 40 degrees north latitude, is bounded to the east by New York, to the west by Pennsylvania, to the north by unknown land, and to the south by the ocean, which washes its coasts thro' an extent of 120 miles. This large country before the last revolution contained only sixteen thousand inhabitants, the descendants of Swedes and Dutch, who were its first cultivators, to whom had been added some Quakers, and some Church-of-England men, with a greater number of Presbyterians. The defect of the government stopped the progress and occasioned the indigence of this small colony. It might therefore, have been expected that the æra of liberty should have been that of its prosperity; but almost all the Europeans who went to the new world in search either of an asylum or riches, preferring the milder and more fruitful climates of Carolina and Pennsylvania; New Jersey could never recover from its primitive languor. Even at this day, it does not reckon above fifty thousand whites, united in villages, or dispersed among the plantations, with twenty thousand blacks

The poverty of this province not suffering it in the beginning to open a direct trade with the distant or foreign markets, it began to sell its productions at Philadelphia, and especially at New York, with which there was an easy communication by rivers. It has continued this practice ever since, and receives in exchange from the two cities some of the productions of the mother country. Far, however, from being able to acquire any objects of luxury, it cannot even afford to purchase all the articles of immediate necessity; but

is obliged itself to manufacture the greatest part of its clothing.

There is of course very little specie in the colony, which is reduced to the use of paper-currency. All its bills together do not amount to more than 59,062 *l.* 10 *s.* As they are current both in Pennsylvania, and New York, which do not take any of each others bills; they bear an advanced premium above the bills of these two colonies, by being made use of in all the payments between them.

But so trifling an advantage will never give any real importance to New Jersey. It is from out of its own bosom, that is, from the culture of its immense tract of desert country, that it is to draw its vigour and prosperity. As long as it stands in need of intermediate agents, it will never recover from the state of languor into which it is plunged. This the colony is thoroughly sensible of; and all its efforts are now directed to this end, in order to enable it to act for itself. It has even already made some with success. As far back as the year 1751, it found means to fit out, at its own expence, thirty-eight vessels, bound to Europe or to the southern isles of America. These vessels carried 188,000 quintals of biscuits, six thousand four hundred and twenty-four barrels of flour, seventeen thousand nine hundred and forty-one bushels of corn, three hundred and fourteen barrels of salt beef and pork, fourteen hundred quintals of hemp; together with a pretty large quantity of hams, butter, beer, lintseed, iron in bars, and wood for building. It is imagined that this direct trade may have increased one third since that time.

This beginning of riches must raise the emulation, the industry, the hopes, the projects, and the inter-prises of a colony, which hitherto had not been able to sustain the part in trade which its situation seemed

SETTLEMENTS IN AMERICA. 97

to promise it. If, however, there are some poor and feeble states that draw their subsistence and support from the vicinity of others more rich and more brilliant than themselves, there are a far greater number whom such a neighbourhood entirely crushes and destroys. Such, perhaps, has been the fate of New Jersey, as will appear from the history, we are going to give of Pennsylvania ; which, lying too close to this colony, has sometimes stifled it with its shadow, sometimes eclipsed it with its splendor.

VOL. I.

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BOOK

B O O K II.

BRITISH COLONIES FOUNDED IN PENNSYLVANIA,
 VIRGINIA, MARYLAND, CAROLINA,
 GEORGIA, AND FLORIDA.

C H A P. I.

Of P E N S Y L V A N I A.

1. *The Quakers found Pennsylvania. Manners of that sect.*

LUTHERANISM, which was destined to cause a remarkable change in Europe, either by its own influence or by the example it gave, had occasioned a great fermentation in the minds of all men; when there arose from the midst of it a new religion, which at first appeared much more like a rebellion guided by fanaticism, than like a sect that was governed by any fixed principles. In fact, the generality of innovators follow a regular system, composed of doctrines connected with each other, and, in the beginning at least, take arms only to defend themselves. The Anabaptists, on the contrary, as if they had looked into the Bible only for the word of command to attack, lifted up the standard of rebellion, before they had agreed upon a system of doctrine. It is true, indeed, that their leaders had taught, that it was a ridiculous and useless practice to administer baptism to infants; and asserted that their opinion upon this point was the same

same as that of the primitive church ; but they had not yet ever practised themselves this only article of faith, which furnished a pretence for separation. The spirit of sedition precluded them from paying a proper attention to the schismatic tenets on which their division was founded. To shake off the tyrannical yoke of the church and state, was their law and their faith. To enlist in the armies of the Lord ; to join with the faithful who were to wield the sword of Gideon ; this was their device, their motive, and their signal for rallying.

It was not till after they had carried fire and sword into a great part of Germany, that the Anabaptists thought at last of marking and cementing their confederacy by some visible sign of union. Having been inspired at first to raise a body of troops, in 1525 they were inspired to compose a religious code, and the following were the tenets they adopted.

In the mixed system of intolerance and mildness by which they are guided, the Anabaptist church, being the only one in which the pure word of God is taught neither can nor ought to communicate with any other.

The spirit of the Lord blowing wheresoever it listeth, the power of preaching is not limited to one order of the faithful, but is given to all. Every one likewise has the gift of prophecy.

Every sect which has not preserved the community of all things, which constituted the life and spirit of Christianity, is degenerated, and is for that reason an impure society.

Magistrates are useless in a society of the truly faithful. A Christian never has occasion for any ; nor is a Christian allowed to be one himself.

Christians are not permitted to take up arms even in their own defence, much less is it lawful for them to enlist as soldiers in mercenary armies.

Both

Both law-suits and oaths are forbidden the disciples of Christ ; who has commanded them to let their yea be yea, and their nay nay.

The baptism of infants is an invention of the devil and of the pope. The validity of baptism depends upon the voluntary consent of the adults, who alone are able to receive it with a consciousness of the engagement they take upon themselves.

- Such was in its origin, the religious system of the Anabaptists. Tho' it appears founded on charity and mildness, yet it produced nothing but violence and iniquity. The chimerical idea of an equality of stations is the most dangerous one that can be adopted in a civilized society. To preach this system to the people, is not to put them in mind of their rights, it is leading them on to assassination and plunder. It is letting domestic animals loose, and transforming them into wild beasts. The masters who govern the people must be better informed, or the laws by which they are conducted must be softened: but there is in fact no such thing in nature as a real equality; it exists only in the system of equity. Even the savages themselves are not equal, when once they are collected into hords. They are only so while they wander in the woods; and then the man who suffers the produce of his chase to be taken from him, is not the equal of him who deprives him of it. Such has been the origin of all societies.

A doctrine, the basis of which was the community of goods and equality of ranks, was hardly calculated to find partizans any where but among the poor. The peasants, accordingly, all adopted it with the more violence in proportion as the yoke from which it delivered them was more insupportable. The far greater part, especially those who were condemned to slavery, rose up in arms on all sides, to support a doctrine,

rine, which, from being vassals, made them equal to their lords. The apprehension of seeing one of the first bands of society, obedience to the magistrate, broken, united all other sects against them, who could not subsist without subordination. After having carried on a more obstinate resistance than could have been expected, they yielded at length to the number of their enemies. Their sect, notwithstanding it had made its way all over Germany, and into a part of the north, was no where prevalent, because it had been every where opposed and dispersed. It was but just tolerated in these countries in which the greatest latitude of opinion was allowed; and there was not any state in which it was able to settle a church, authorised by the civil power. This of course weakened it, and from obscurity it fell into contempt. Its only glory is that of having, perhaps, contributed to the foundation of the sect of the quakers.

This humane and pacific sect had arisen in England amidst the confusions of a war, which terminated in a monarch's being dragged to the scaffold by his own subjects. The founder of it, George Fox, was of the lower class of the people; a man who had been formerly a mechanic, but whom a singular and contemplative turn of mind had induced to quit his profession. In order to wean himself entirely from all earthly affections, he broke off all connections with his own family; and for fear of being tempted to renew them, he determined to have no fixed abode. He often wandered alone in the woods, without any other amusement but his bible. In time he even learnt to go without that, when he thought he had acquired from it a degree of inspiration, familiar to that of the apostles and the prophets.

Then he began to think of making proselytes, which he found not in the least difficult in a country
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where the minds of all men were filled and disturbed with enthusiastic notions. He was, therefore, soon followed by a multitude of disciples, the novelty and singularity of whose notions upon incomprehensible subjects could not fail of attracting and fascinating all those who were fond of the marvellous.

The first thing by which they caught the eye, was the simplicity of their dress; in which there was neither gold nor silver lace, nor embroidery, nor laces, nor ruffles, and from which they affected to banish every thing that was superfluous or unnecessary. They would not suffer either a button in the hat, or a plait in the coat, because it was possible to do without them. Such an extraordinary contempt for established modes reminded those who adopted it, that it became them to be more virtuous than the rest of men from whom they distinguished themselves by this external modesty.

All the external deferences which the pride and tyranny of mankind exact from those who are unable to refuse them, were disdained by the quakers, who disclaimed the names of Master and Servant. They condemned all titles as pride in those who claimed them, and as meanness in those who bestowed them. They did not allow to any person whatever the appellation of Eminence or Excellence, and so far they might be in the right; but they refused to comply with those reciprocal marks of attention which we call politeness, and in this they were to blame. The name of Friend, they said, was not to be refused by one Christian or citizen to another; but the ceremony of bowing they considered as ridiculous and troublesome. To pull off one's hat they held to be a want of respect to one's self, in order to shew it to others. They carried it so far, that even the magistrates could not draw from them any external token of reverence; but

but they addressed both them and princes, according to the ancient majesty of language, in the second person and in the singular number.

The austerity of their morals ennobled the singularity of their manners. The use of arms, considered in every light, appeared a crime to them. If it was to attack, it was violating the laws of humanity; if to defend one's self, it was breaking through those of Christianity. Universal peace was the gospel they had agreed to profess. If any one smote a quaker upon one cheek, he immediately presented the other; if any one asked for his coat, he offered his waistcoat too. Nothing could engage these equitable men to demand more than the lawful price for their work, or to take less than what they demanded. An oath, even before a magistrate and in a just cause, they deemed to be a profanation of the name of God, in any of the wretched disputes that arise between weak and perishable beings.

The contempt they had for the outward forms of politeness in civil life was changed into aversion for the ritual and ceremonial parts of religion. They looked upon churches merely as the parade of religion; they considered the sabbath as a pernicious idleness, and baptism and the Lord's supper as ridiculous symbols. For this reason they rejected all regular orders of clergy. Every one of the faithful they imagined received an immediate illumination from the Holy Ghost, which gave a character far superior to that of the priesthood. When they were assembled together, the first person who found himself inspired arose and imparted the lights he had received from heaven. Even women were often favoured with this gift of speech, which they called the gift of prophecy: sometimes many of these holy brethren spoke at the same

same time; but much more frequently a profound silence prevailed in their assemblies.

The enthusiasm occasioned both by their meditations and discourses, excited such a degree of sensibility in the nervous system, that it threw them into convulsions, for which reason they were called Quakers. To have cured these people in process of time of their folly, nothing more was requisite than to turn it into ridicule; but, instead of this, persecution contributed to make it more general. Whilst every other new sect met with encouragement, this was exposed to every kind of punishment; imprisonments, whippings, pillories, mad-houses, nothing was thought too terrible for bigots, whose only crime was that of wanting to be virtuous and reasonable over much. The constancy with which they bore their sufferings, at first excited compassion, and afterwards admiration for them. Even Cromwel, who had been one of their most violent enemies, because they used to insinuate themselves into his camps, and discourage his soldiers from their profession, gave them public marks of his esteem. His policy exerted itself in endeavouring to draw them into his party, in order to conciliate to himself a higher degree of respect and consideration: but they either eluded his invitations, or rejected them; and he afterwards confessed, that this was the only religion in which his guineas had taken no effect.

Amongst the several persons who cast a temporary lustre on the sect, the only one who deserves to be remembered by posterity is William Penn. He was the son of an admiral, who had been fortunate enough to be equally distinguished by Cromwel and the two Stuarts who held the reigns of government after him. This able seaman, more supple, and more insinuating than men commonly are in his possession, had made considerable advances to government in the different

expe-

expeditions in which he had been engaged. The misfortunes of the times had not suffered them to be repaid during his life; and as affairs were not in a better situation at his death, it was proposed to his son, that, instead of money he should accept of an immense territory in America. It was a country which tho' long since discovered, and surrounded by English colonies, had always been neglected. The love of humanity made him accept with pleasure this kind of patrimony, which was ceded to him almost as a sovereignty; and he determined to make it the abode of virtue, and the asylum of the unfortunate. With this generous design, towards the end of the year 1681, he set sail for his new possessions, which from that time took the name of Pennsylvania. All the quakers were desirous to follow him, in order to avoid the persecution raised against them by the clergy on account of their not complying with the tithes and other ecclesiastical fees; but his prudence engaged him to take over no more than two thousand.

2. Upon what principles Pennsylvania was founded.

PENN'S arrival in the new world was signalized by an act of equity which made his person and principles equally beloved. Not thoroughly satisfied with the right given him to this extensive territory by the cession of the English ministry, he determined to make it his own property by purchasing it of the natives. The price he gave to the savages is not known; but though some people accuse them of stupidity for consenting to part with what they never ought to have alienated upon any terms; yet Penn is not less entitled to the glory of having given an example of moderation and justice in America, never so much as thought of before by the Europeans. He made his acquisition

as valid as he could, and by the use he made of it he supplied any deficiency there might be in the legality of his title. The Americans conceived as great an affection for this colony as they had conceived an aversion for all those which had been founded in their neighbourhood without their consent. From that time there arose a mutual confidence between the two people, founded upon good faith, which nothing has ever been able to shake.

Penn's humanity could not be confined to the savages only ; it extended itself to all those who were desirous of living under his laws. Sensible that the happiness of the people depended upon the nature of the legislation, he founded his upon those two first principles of public splendor and private felicity ; liberty, and property. Here it is that the mind rests with pleasure upon modern history, and feels some kind of compensation for the disgust, horror, or melancholy which the whole of it, but particularly the account of the European settlements in America, inspires. Hitherto we have only seen these barbarians spreading depopulation before they took possession, and laying every thing waste before they cultivated. It is time to observe the seeds of reason, happiness, and humanity, sown and springing up amidst the ruin of an hemisphere, which still reeks with the blood of all its people, civilized as well as savage.

This virtuous legislator made toleration the basis of his society. He admitted every one who acknowledged a God to the rights of a citizen, and made every Christian eligible to state-employments. But he left every one at liberty to invoke the Supreme Being as he thought proper ; and neither established a reigning church in Pennsylvania, nor exacted contributions for building places of public worship, nor compelled any persons to attend them.

Jealous

Jealous of immortalizing his name, he vested in his family the right of nominating the chief governor of the colony: but he ordained that no profits should be annexed to his employment, except such as were voluntarily granted; and that he should have no authority without the concurrence of the deputies of the people. All the citizens, who had an interest in the law, by having one in the circumstance the law was intended to regulate, were to be electors, and might be chosen. To avoid as much as possible every kind of corruption, it was ordained that the representatives should be chosen by suffrages privately given. To establish a law, a plurality of voices was sufficient; but a majority of two thirds was necessary to settle a tax. Such a tax as this was certainly more like a free gift than a subsidy demanded by government; but was it possible to grant less indulgences to men who were come so far in search of peace?

Such was the opinion of that real philosopher Penn. He gave a thousand acres to all those who could afford to pay twenty pounds for them. Every one who could not, obtained for himself, his wife, each of his children above sixteen years, and each of his servants fifty acres of land, for the annual quit rent of about one penny per acre.

To fix these proprieties for ever, he established tribunals to protect the laws made for the preservation of property. But it is not protecting the property of lands to make those who are in possession of them purchase the law that secures them: for in that case, one is obliged to give away part of one's property in order to secure the rest; and law, in process of time, exhausts the very treasures it should preserve, and the very property it should defend. Lest any persons should be found whose interest it might be to encourage or prolong law-suits, he forbade, under very strict

strict penalties, all those who were engaged in the administration of justice, to receive any salary or gratification whatsoever. And further, every district was obliged to chuse three arbitrators, whose business it was to endeavour to prevent, and make up, any disputes that might happen, before they were carried into a court of justice.

This attention to prevent law suits sprang from the desire of preventing crimes. All the laws, that they might have no vice to punish, were directed to put a stop to them even in their very sources, poverty and idleness. It was enacted, that every child above twelve years old should be obliged to learn a profession, let his condition be what it would. This regulation, at the same time that it secured the poor man a subsistence, furnished the rich man with a resource against every reverse of fortune; and preserved the natural equality of mankind, by recalling to every man's remembrance his original destination, which is that of labour either of the mind or of the body.

Such primary institutions would be necessarily productive of an excellent legislation; and accordingly the advantages of that established by Penn manifested itself in the rapid and continued prosperity of Pennsylvania, which without either wars or conquests or struggles, or any of those revolutions which attract the eyes of the vulgar, soon became an object fit to excite the admiration of the whole universe. Its neighbours, notwithstanding their savage state, were softened by the sweetness of its manners; and distant nations, notwithstanding their corruption, paid homage to its virtues. All were delighted to see those heroic days of antiquity realized, which European manners and laws had long taught every one to consider as entirely fabulous.

3. *Extent, climate, and soil, of Pennsylvania. Its prosperity.*

PENNSYLVANIA is defended to the east by the ocean, to the north by New York, and New Jersey, to the south by Virginia and Maryland, to the west by the Indians; on all sides by friends, and within itself by the virtue of its inhabitants. Its coasts, which are at first very narrow, extend gradually to 120 miles; and the breadth of it, which has no other limits than its population and culture, already comprehends 145 miles. The sky of the colony is pure and serene; the climate, very wholesome of itself, has been rendered still more so by cultivation; the waters, equally salubrious and clear, always flow upon a bed of rock or sand; the year is tempered by the regular return of the seasons. Winter, which begins in the month of January, lasts till the end of March. As it is seldom accompanied with clouds or fogs, the cold is, generally speaking, moderate; sometimes, however, sharp enough to freeze the largest rivers in one night. This revolution, which is as short as it is sudden, is occasioned by the north-west winds, which blow from the mountains and lakes of Canada. The spring is ushered in by soft rains, and by a gentle heat, which increases gradually till the end of June. The heats of the dog-days would be insupportable, were it not for the refreshing breezes of the south-west wind; but this succour, though pretty constant, sometimes exposes them to hurricanes that blow down whole forests, and tear up trees by the roots, especially in the neighbourhood of the sea, where they are most violent. The three autumnal months are commonly attended with no other inconvenience but that of being too rainy.

Though the country is unequal, it is not less fertile. The soil in some places consists of a yellow black sand, in others it is gravelly, and sometimes it is a greyish ash upon a stony bottom; generally speaking, it is a rich earth, particularly between the rivulets, which, intersecting it in all directions, contribute more to the fertility of the country than navigable rivers would.

When the Europeans first came into the country, they found nothing in it but wood for building, and iron mines. In process of time, by cutting down the trees, and clearing the ground, they covered it with innumerable herds, with a great variety of fruits, with plantations of flax and hemp, with many kinds of vegetables, with every sort of grain, and especially with rye and maize; which a happy experience had shewn to be particularly proper to the climate. Cultivation was carried on in all parts with such vigour and success as excited the astonishment of all nations.

From whence could arise this extraordinary prosperity? From that civil and religious liberty which has attracted the Swedes, Dutch, French, and particularly some laborious Germans, into that country. It has been the joint work of Quakers, Anabaptists, Church-of-England men, Methodists, Presbyterians, Moravians, Lutherans, and Catholics.

Among the numerous sects which abound in this country, a very distinguished one, is that of the Dumplers. It was founded by a German, who, disgusted with the world, retired to an agreeable solitude within fifty miles of Philadelphia, in order to be more at liberty to give himself up to contemplation. Curiosity brought several of his countrymen to visit *his retreat*; and by degrees his pious, simple, and *peaceable* manners induced them to settle near him, *and they all formed a little colony, which they called*
Euph-

SETTLEMENTS IN AMERICA. 212

Euphrates, in allusion to the Hebrews, who used to sing psalms on the borders of that river.

This little city forms a triangle, the outsidcs of which are bordered with mulberry and apple trees, planted with regularity. In the middle of the town is a very large orchard; and between the orchard and these ranges of trees are houses, built of wood, three stories high, where every Dumpler is left to enjoy the pleasures of his meditations without disturbance. These contemplative men do not amount to above five hundred in all; their territory is about 250 acres in extent, the boundaries of which are marked by a river, a piece of stagnated water, and a mountain covered with trees.

The men and women live in separate quarters of the city. They never see each other but at places of worship, nor are there any assemblies of any kind but for public business. Their life is taken up in labour, prayer, and sleep. Twice every day and night they are called forth from their cells, to attend divine service. Like the Methodists and Quakers, every individual among them possesses the right of preaching when he thinks himself inspired. The favourite subjects on which they love to discourse in their assemblies, are humility, temperance, chastity, and the other Christian virtues. They never violate the rest of the Sabbath, which is so much the delight of laborious as well as idle men. They admit a hell and a paradise; but reject the eternity of future punishments. The doctrine of original sin is with them an impious blasphemy which they abhor, and in general every tenet cruel to man appears to them injurious to the Divinity. As they do not allow merit to any but voluntary works, they administer baptism only to the adult. At the same time they think baptism essentially necessary to salvation, that they imagine the
souls.

souls of Christians in another world are employed in converting those who have not died under the law of the gospel.

Still more disinterested than the Quakers, they never allow themselves any law-suits. One may cheat, rob, and abuse them, without ever being exposed to any retaliation, or even any complaint from them. Religion has the same effect on them that philosophy had upon the Stoics; it makes them insensible to every kind of insult.

Nothing can be plainer than their dress. In winter, it consists of a long white gown, from whence there hangs a hood to serve instead of a hat, a coarse shirt thick shoes and very wide breeches. There is no great difference in summer, only that linen is used instead of woollen. The women are dressed much like the men except the breeches.

Their common food is only vegetable, not because it is unlawful to make use of any other, but because that kind of abstinence is looked upon as more conformable to the spirit of Christianity, which has an aversion to blood. Each individual follows with cheerfulness the branch of business allotted to him. The produce of all their labours is deposited into a common stock, in order to supply the necessities of every one. Besides the cultivation, manufactures, and all the arts necessary to the little society, which are thus produced by united industry, it affords a superfluous part for exchanges proportioned to the population.

Though the two sexes live separate at Euphrates, the Dumplers do not on that account foolishly renounce matrimony. But those who find themselves disposed to it leave the city, and form an establishment in the country, which is supported at the public expence. They repay this by the produce of their labours, which is all thrown into the public treasury,
and

and their children are sent to be educated in the mother country. Without this wise privilege, the Dunces would be nothing more than monks, and in process of time would become either savages or libertines.

What is most edifying, and at the same time most extraordinary, is, the harmony that subsists between all the sects established in Pennsylvania, notwithstanding the difference of their religious opinions. Tho' they are not all of the same church, they all love and cherish one another as children of the same father. They have always continued to live like brothers, because they had the liberty of thinking as men. It is to this delightful harmony that must be attributed more particularly the rapid progress of the colony.

At the beginning of the year 1766 its population amounted to 150,000 white people. The number must have been considerably increased from that period, since it is doubled every fifteen years, according to Mr Franklin's calculations. There were still thirty thousand blacks in the province, who met with less ill-usage in this province than in the others, but who were still exceedingly unhappy. A circumstance, however, not easily believed, is, that the subjection of the negroes has not corrupted the morals of their masters: their manners are still pure, and even austere, in Pennsylvania. Is this singular advantage to be ascribed to the climate, the laws, the religion, the emulation constantly subsisting between the different sects, or to some other particular cause? Let the reader determine this question.

The Pennsylvanians are in general well made, and their women of an agreeable figure. As they sooner become mothers than in Europe, they sooner cease breeding. If the heat of the climate seems on the one hand to hasten the operations of nature, its inconstan-

cy weakens them on the other. There is no place where the temperature of the sky is more uncertain for it sometimes changes five or six times in the same day.

As, however, these varieties neither have any dangerous influence upon the vegetables, nor destroy the harvests, there is constant plenty, and an universal appearance of ease. The oeconomy which is so particularly attended to in Pennsylvania does not prevent both sexes from being well clothed; and their food is still preferable in its kind to their clothing. The families, whose circumstances are the least easy, have all of them bread, meat, cyder, beer, and rum. A very great number are able to afford to drink constantly French and Spanish wines, punch, and even liquors of a higher price. The abuse of these strong drinks is less frequent than in other places, but is not without example.

The pleasing view of this abundance is never disturbed by the melancholy sight of poverty. There are no poor in all Pennsylvania. All those whose birth or fortune have left them without resources, are suitably provided for out of the public treasury. The spirit of benevolence is carried still further, and is extended even to the most engaging hospitality. A traveller is welcome to stop in any place, without the apprehensions of giving the least uneasy sensation except that of a regret for his departure.

The happiness of the colony is not disturbed by the oppressive burden of taxes. In 1766, they did not amount to more than 12,256 *l.* 2*s.* 6*d.* Most of them even those that were designed to repair the damages of war, were to cease in 1772. If the people did not experience this alleviation at that period, it was owing to the eruptions of the savages, which had occasioned extraordinary expences.

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The Pennsylvanians, happy possessors and peaceable tenants of a country that usually renders them twenty or thirty fold of whatever they lay out upon it, are not restrained by fear from the propagation of their species. There is hardly an unmarried person to be met with in the country. Marriage is only the more happy and the more revered for it. The freedom as well as the sanctity of it depends upon the choice of the parties; they chuse the lawyer the priest rather as witnesses, than ministers, of the engagement. Whenever two lovers meet with any opposition, they go off on horseback together. The man gets behind his mistress; and in this situation they present themselves before the magistrate, where the girl declares she has run away with her lover, and that they are come to be married. So solemn an avowal cannot be rejected, nor has any person a right to give them any molestation. In all other cases, paternal authority is excessive. The head of a family, whose affairs are involved, is allowed to engage his children to his creditors; a punishment, one should imagine, very sufficient to induce a fond father to attend to his affairs. A man grown up acquits in one year's service a debt of 5*l.* and children under twelve years of age are obliged to serve till they are one and twenty, to pay one of 6*l.* This is an image of the old patriarchal manners of the East

Though there are several villages, and even some cities, in the colony, most of the inhabitants may be said to live separately, as it were, within their families. Every proprietor of land has his house in the midst of a large plantation entirely surrounded with quickset hedges. Of course each parish is near twelve or fifteen leagues in circumference. This distance of the churches makes the ceremonies of religion have little effect, and still less influence. Children are not bap-
tized

merous attendants in small societies than in larger ones; because, though there are fewer families upon the whole, the number of individuals there is much larger, and all the ties that connect them with each other are much stronger. This kind of intimate union has been the reason why so many small nations have overcome larger ones; it drove Xerxes and the Persians out of Greece, and it will some time or other expel the French out of Corsica.

But from whence does Pennsylvania draw the materials for her own consumption, and in what manner does she contrive to be abundantly furnished with them? With the flax and hemp that are produced at home, and the cotton she procures from South America, she fabricates a great quantity of ordinary linens; and with the wool that comes from Europe she manufactures many coarse cloths. Whatever her own industry is not able to furnish, she purchases with the produce of her territory. Her ships carry over to the British, French, Dutch, and Danish islands, biscuit, flour, butter cheese, tallow, vegetables, fruits, salt meat, cyder, beer, and all sorts of wood for building. The cotton, sugar, coffee, brandy, and money, they receive in exchange, are so many materials for a fresh commerce with the mother country, and with other European nations as well as with other colonies. The Azores, Madeira, the Canaries, Spain and Portugal, open an advantageous market to the corn and wood of Pennsylvania, which they purchase with wine and piastres. The mother country receives from Pennsylvania iron, flax, leather, furs, lintseed oil, masts and yards; for which it returns thread, wool, fine cloths, tea, Irish and india linens, hard ware, and other articles of luxury or necessity. As these, however, amount to a much greater sum than what it buys, Britian may be considered as a gulph in which all the
metals

metals Pennsylvania has drawn from the other parts of the world are sunk again. In 1723, Britain sent over goods to Pennsylvania only to the value of 10,937*l.* 10*s.* at present she furnishes to the amount of 437,500*l.* This sum is too considerable for the colonists to be able to pay it, even in depriving themselves of all the gold they draw from other markets; and this inability must continue as long as the improvement of their cultures shall require more considerable advances than their produce yields. Other colonies which enjoy almost exclusively some branches of trade, such as rice, tobacco, and indigo, must have grown rich very rapidly. Pennsylvania, whose riches are founded on agriculture and the increase of her flocks, will acquire them more gradually; but her prosperity will be fixed upon a more firm and permanent basis.

If any circumstance can retard the progress of the colony, it must be the irregular manner in which the plantations are formed. Penn's family, who are the proprietors of all the lands, grant them indiscriminately in all parts, and in as large a proportion as they are required, provided they are paid 6*l.* 11*s.* 3*d.* for each hundred acres, and that the purchasers agree to give an annual rent of about one halfpenny. The consequence of this is, that the province wants that sort of connection which is necessary in all things, and that the scattered inhabitants easily become the prey of the most insignificant enemy that will venture to attack them.

The habitations are cleared in different ways in the colony. Sometimes a huntman will settle in the midst of a forest, or quite close to it. His nearest neighbours assist him in cutting down trees, and heaping them up one over another: and this constitutes a house. Around this spot he cultivates, without any assistance

a garden or a field, sufficient to subsist himself and his family.

A few years after the first labours were finished, some more active and richer men arrived from the mother country. They paid the huntsman for his pains, and agreed with the proprietors of the provinces for some lands that had not been paid for. They built more commodious habitations, and cleared a greater extent of territory.

At length some Germans, who came into the new world from inclination, or were driven into it by persecution completed these settlements that were as yet unfinished. The first and second order of planters removed their industry into other parts, with a more considerable stock for carrying on their cultures than they had at first.

The annual exports of Pennsylvania may be valued at 25,000 tons. It receives four hundred ships, and fits out about an equal number. They all, or almost all, come into PHILADELPHIA, which is the capital from whence they are also dispatched.

This famous city, whose very name recalls every humane feeling, is situated at the conflux of the Delaware and the Schuylkill, about 120 miles from the sea. Penn, who destined it for the metropolis of a great empire, designed it to be one mile in breadth, and two in length between the rivers; but is population has proved insufficient to cover this extent of ground. Hitherto they have built only upon the banks of the Delaware; but without giving up the ideas of the legislator, or deviating from his plan. These precautions are highly proper: Philadelphia must become the most considerable city of America, because it is impossible that the colony should not improve greatly, and its productions must pass through the harbour of the capital before they arrive at the sea.

The

The streets of Philadelphia, which are all regular, are in general fifty feet broad; the two principal ones are a hundred. On each side of them, there are foot-paths, guarded by posts placed at different distances. The houses, each of which has its garden and orchard, are commonly two stories high; and are built either of brick, or of a kind of soft stone, which grows harder by being exposed to the air. Till very lately the walls had but little thickness, because they were only to be covered with a very light kind of wood. Since the discovery of slate quarries, the walls have acquired a solidity proportioned to the weight of the new roofs. The present buildings have received an additional decoration from a kind of marble of different colours, which is found about a mile out of the town. Of this they make tables, chimney-pieces, and other household furniture; besides which, it is become a pretty considerable object of commerce with the greatest part of America.

These valuable materials could not have been commonly found in the houses, if they had not been lavished in the churches. Every sect has its own church and some of them have several.

The town-house is a building held in as much veneration, though not so much frequented, as the churches. It is constructed in the most sumptuous magnificence. It is there that the legislators of the colony assemble every year, and more frequently if necessary to settle every thing relative to public business; the whole of which is submitted to the authority of the nation in the persons of its representatives. Next to the town-house is a most elegant library, which owes its existence to the care of the learned Doctor Franklin. In it are found the best English, French, and Latin authors. It is only open to the public on Saturdays. Those who have founded it have a free ac-

cess to it the whole year. The rest pay a trifle for the loan of the books, and a forfeit if they are not returned in due time. This little fund constantly accumulating is appropriated to the increase of the library; to which have been lately added, in order to make it more useful, some mathematical and philosophical instruments, with a very fine cabinet of natural history.

The college, which is intended to prepare the mind for the attainment of all the sciences, was founded in 1749. At first, it only initiated the youth in the Belles Lettres. In 1764 a class of medicine was established there. Knowledge of every kind and adepts in the sciences will increase in proportion as the lands, which are become their patrimony shall yield a greater produce. If ever despotism, superstition, or war, should plunge Europe again into that state of barbarism from whence philosophy and the arts have drawn it, the sacred fire will be kept alive in Philadelphia, and come from thence to enlighten the world. This city is amply supplied with every assistance human nature can require, and with all the resources industry can make use of. Its keys, the principal of which is two hundred feet wide, present a suite of convenient warehouses and recesses ingeniously contrived for ship-building. Ships of five hundred tons may land there without any difficulty, except in the times of frost. There they load the merchandise which has either come down the Schuylkill and Delaware, or along roads better than are to be met with in most parts of Europe. Police has made a greater progress in this part of the new world, than among the most ancient nations of the old. It is impossible to determine precisely the population of Philadelphia, as the bills of mortality are not kept with any exactness, and there are several sects who do not christen their

VOL. I. **M** child-

children. It appears a fact, however, that in 1766 it contained twenty thousand inhabitants. As most of them are employed in the sale of the productions of the colony, and in supplying it with what they draw from abroad, it is impossible that their fortunes should not be very considerable; and they must increase still further, in proportion as the cultivation advances in a country where hitherto not above one sixth of the land has been cleared.

Philadelphia, as well as Newcastle and the other cities of Pensylvania, is entirely open. The whole country is equally without defence. This is a necessary consequence of the principles of the Quakers, who have always maintained the principal influence in the public deliberations, though they do not form above one third part of the population of the colony. These sectaries cannot be too much favoured on account of their modesty, probity, love of labour, and benevolence. One might, perhaps be tempted to accuse their legislation of imprudence and temerity.

When they established that civil liberty which protects one citizen from another, ought not the founders of the colony to have taken some pains for the maintenance of political liberty also, which protects one state from the encroachments of another? The authority which exerts itself to maintain peace and good order at home, seems to have done nothing if it has not prevented invasion from abroad. To pretend that the colony would never have any enemies, was to suppose the world peopled with Quakers. It was encouraging the strong to fall upon the weak, leaving the lamb to the mercy of the wolf, and giving up all the country to the oppressive yoke of the first tyrant who should think proper to subdue it.

But, on the other hand, how shall we reconcile *the strictness of the gospel-maxims, by which the Quakers*

Quakers are literally governed, with that appearance of force, either for offence or defence, which puts all Christian nations in a continual state of war with each other? Besides, what could the French or the Spaniards do if they were to enter Pennsylvania sword in hand? Unless they should destroy in one night or in one day all the inhabitants of that fortunate region, they would not be able to cut off the race of those mild and charitable men. Violence has its boundaries in its very excess; it consumes and extinguishes itself, as the fire in the ashes that feed it. But virtue, when guided by humanity and brotherly love, reanimates itself as the tree under the edge of the pruning knife. Wicked men stand in need of numbers to execute their sanguinary projects. But the just man, or the Quaker, requires only a brother from whom he may receive, or to whom he may give, assistance. Let, then, the warlike nations, people who are either slaves or tyrants, go into Pennsylvania: there they will find all avenues open to them, all property at their disposal; not a single soldier, but numbers of merchants and farmers. But if they are tormented, restrained, or oppressed, they will fly, and leave their lands uncultivated, their manufactures destroyed, and their warehouses empty. They will go and cultivate, and spread population in some new land; they will go round the world, and expire in their progress rather than turn their arms against their pursuers, or submit to bear their yoke. Their enemies will have acquired nothing but the hatred of mankind and the curses of posterity.

It is upon this prospect and on this foresight, that the Pennsylvanians have founded the opinion of their future security. At present they have nothing to fear from behind, since the French have lost Canada; and the *flanks* of the colony are sufficiently covered.

by the British settlements. As for the rest, as they do not see that the most warlike states are the most durable; or that mistrust, which is always awake, makes them rest in greater quiet; or that there is any kind of satisfaction in the enjoyment of that which is held with so much fear; they live for the present moment, without any thought of a future day. Perhaps, too, they may think themselves secured by those very precautions that are taken in the colonies that surround them. One of the barriers or bulwarks that preserves Pennsylvania from a maritime invasion to which it is exposed, is Virginia.

C H A P. II.

Of VIRGINIA and MARYLAND.

1. *Wretched state of Virginia at its first settlement.*

VIRGINIA, which was intended to denote all that extensive space which the English proposed to occupy in the continent of North America, is at present confined within much narrower limits. It now comprehends only that country which is bounded to the north by Maryland, to the south by Carolina, to the west by the Apalachian mountains, and to the east by the ocean. This space contains two hundred and forty miles in length, and two hundred in breadth.

It was in 1606 that the English first landed at Virginia; and their first settlement was James-Town. Unfortunately the first object that presented itself to them was a rivulet, which, issuing from a sand bank, drew after it a quantity of talc, which glittered at the bottom of a clear and running water. In an age when gold and silver mines were the only objects of mens

researches, this despicable substance was immediately taken for silver. Every other labour was instantly suspended to acquire it. And the illusion was so complete, that two ships, which had arrived there with necessaries, were sent home so fully freighted with these imaginary riches, that there scarce remained any room for a few furs. As long as the infatuation lasted, the colonists disdained to employ themselves in clearing the lands; so that a dreadful famine was at last the consequence of this foolish pride. Sixty men only remained alive out of five hundred that had come from Europe. These few, having only a fortnight's provision left, were upon the point of embarking for Newfoundland, when lord Delaware arrived there with three ships, a fresh colony, and supplies of all kinds.

History has described this nobleman to us as a man whose genius raised him above the common prejudices of the times. His disinterestedness was equal to his knowledge. In accepting the government of the colony, which was still in its infancy, his only motives had been to gratify the inclination a virtuous mind has to do good, and to secure the esteem of posterity, which is the second reward of that generosity which devotes itself totally to the service of the public. As soon as he appeared, the knowledge of his character procured him universal respect. He began by endeavouring to reconcile the wretched colonists to their fatal country, to comfort them in their sufferings, to make them hope for a speedy conclusion of them. After this, joining the firmness of an enlightened magistrate to the tenderness of a good father, he taught them how to direct their labours to an useful end. For the misfortune of the reviving colony, Delaware's declining health soon obliged him to return to Europe; but he never lost sight of his favour-

rite colonists, nor ever failed to make use of all his credit and interest at court to support them. The colony, however, made but little progress; a circumstance that was attributed to the oppression of exclusive privileges. The company which exercised them was dissolved upon Charles I.'s accession to the throne; and from that time Virginia was under the immediate direction of the crown, which exacted no more than a rent of 2s. upon every hundred acres that were cultivated.

Till this moment the colonists had known no true enjoyment of property. Every individual wandered where chance directed him, or fixed himself in the place he liked best, without consulting any titles or agreements. At length, boundaries were ascertained; and those who had been so long wanderers, now become citizens, had determined limits to their plantations. The establishment of this first law of society changed the appearance of every thing. New buildings arose on all sides, and were surrounded by fresh cultivations. This activity drew great numbers of enterprising men over to Virginia, who came in search either of fortune, or of liberty which is the only compensation for the want of it. The memorable troubles that produced a change in the constitution of England added to these a multitude of Royalists, who went there with a resolution to wait with Berkley, the governor of the colony, who was also attached to king Charles, the decision of that deserted monarch's fate. Berkley still continued to protect them, even after the king's death, but some of the inhabitants, either seduced or intimidated, and seconded by the approach of a powerful fleet, delivered up the colony to the Protector. If the governor was compelled to follow the *stream* against his will, he was at least, among those whom Charles had honoured with posts of confidence
and

and rank, the last who submitted to Cromwell, and the first who shook off his yoke. This brave man was sinking under the oppression of the times, when the voice of the people recalled him to the place which his successor's death had left vacant; but far from yielding to these flattering solicitations, he declared that he never would serve any but the legitimate heirs of the dethroned monarch. Such an example of magnanimity at a time when there were no hopes of the restoration of the royal family, made such an impression upon the minds of the people, that Charles II. was proclaimed in Virginia before he had been proclaimed in England.

The colony did not, however, receive all the benefit from such a step which might naturally have been expected from it. Whilst the court, on one hand, granted to rapacious men of family exorbitant privileges, which swallowed up the properties of several obscure colonists; the parliament, on the other, laid excessive taxes upon both the exports from and imports to Virginia. This double oppression drained all the resources and dispelled all the hopes of the colony; and, to complete its misfortune, the savages, who had never been sufficiently cared for, took that opportunity to renew their incursions with a spirit and uniformity of design that had never been yet known.

Such a complication of misfortunes drove the Virginians to despair. Berkley, who had so long been their idol, was accused of wanting fortitude to resist the oppressions of the mother country, the activity to repel the irruptions of the savages. The eyes of all were immediately fixed upon Bacon, a young officer, full of vivacity, eloquence, and intrepidity, of an insinuating disposition and an agreeable person. They chose him for their general in an irregular and tumultuous manner. Though his military successes might have

have justified his prepossession of the licentious multitude, yet this did not prevent the governor from declaring Bacon a traitor to his country. A sentence so severe, and which was imprudent at that time, determined Bacon to assume a power by force which he had exercised peaceably and without opposition for six months. His death put a stop to all his projects. The malecontents, disunited by the death of their chief, and intimidated by the troops which were coming from Europe, were induced to sue for pardon which was readily granted them. The rebellion therefore, was attended with no bad consequences. Mercy insured obedience; and since that remarkable crisis the history of Virginia has been confined to the account of its plantations.

2. *Administration of Virginia.*

THIS great establishment was governed at the beginning by persons placed at the head of it by the company. Virginia afterwards attracted the attention of the mother country; which in 1620 gave it a regular form of government, composed of a chief, a council, and deputies from each county; to whose united care the interests of the province were committed. At first, the council and representatives of the people used to meet in the same room: but in 1689 they divided, and had each their separate chamber, in imitation of the parliament of England. This custom has been continued ever since.

The governor, who is always appointed by the king, and for an unlimited period, has the sole disposal of the regular troops, the militia, and of all military employments, as well as the power of approving or rejecting whatever laws are proposed by the general assembly. Besides this, with the concurrence of the council, to which he leaves very little power in other
matters,

matters, he, may either prorogue or entirely dissolve this kind of parliament: he chuses all magistrates, and all the collectors of the revenue; he alienates the unoccupied lands in a manner suitable to the established forms, and disposes of the public treasure. So many prerogatives, which lead on to usurpation, render government more arbitrary at Virginia than it is in the more northern colonies: they frequently open the door to oppression.

The council is composed of twelve members, created by letters patent, or by particular order from the king. When there happen to be less than nine in the country, the governor chuses three out of the principal inhabitants to make up the number. They form a kind of upper-house, and are at the same time to assist the administration, and to counteract tyranny. They have also the power of rejecting all acts passed in the lower house. The salaries of the whole body amount to no more than 384 *l.* 10 *s.* 10 *1-2 d.*

Virginia is divided into 25 counties, each of which sends two deputies. James-town and the college have each of them separately the right of naming one, which makes up in all 52. Every inhabitant possessed of a free-hold, except only women and minors, has the right of election, and that of being elected. Tho' there is no time fixed by law for holding the general assembly, it commonly meets either once a year, or once in every two years; and the meeting is very seldom deferred till three. The frequency of these meetings is infallibly kept up by the precaution of granting supplies only for a short time. All acts passed in the two houses must be sent over to the sovereign, to receive his sanction; but till that returns, they are always in force, when they have been approved by the governor.

The public revenues of Virginia are collected from different sources, and appropriated in different manners. The tax of 1 s 11 1-2 d. upon every quintal of tobacco; that of 14 s. 9 d. per ton, which every vessel full or empty is obliged to pay at its return from a voyage; that of 9 s 10 d. a head exacted from all passengers, slaves as well as free-men, upon their arrival in the colony; the penalties and forfeitures appointed by different acts of the province; the duty upon both the lands and personal estates of those who leave no legitimate heir; these different articles, which together amount to 3,062 l 10 s. are to be employed in the current expences of the colony, according to the direction of the governor and the council. The general assembly has nothing more to do in this matter but to audit the accounts.

This assembly, however, has reserved to itself the sole disposition of the funds raised for extraordinary services. These arise from a duty of entrance upon strong liquors, from one of 19 s. 8 1-4 d. upon every slave, and one of about 14 s. 9 d. upon every servant, not an Englishman, that enters the colony. A revenue of this nature must be extremely variable; but in general it is pretty considerable, and has been usually well administered.

Besides these taxes which are paid in money, there are others paid in kind. They are a sort of triple poll-tax on the article of tobacco, which the white women only are exempted from. The first is raised by order of the general assembly, for the purpose of paying the expences of its meeting, for that of the militia, and for some other national exigences. The second, which is called provincial, is imposed by the justices of the peace in each county for its particular uses. The third is *parochial*, raised by the chief persons of the community,

nity, upon every thing that has more or less connection with the established form of worship.

In the beginning justice was administered with that kind of disinterestedness which was itself the security for the equity observed in it. One single court had the cognizance of all causes, and used to decide them in a few days, leaving only an appeal to the general assembly, which was not less diligent in terminating them. So good a system did not continue long: in 1692 all the statutes and formalities of the mother country were adopted, and all the chicanery of it was introduced along with them. Since that time every county has its distinct tribunal, composed of a sheriff, his under officers, and juries. From these courts all causes are carried to the council, where the governor presides, who has the power of determining finally in all concerns as far as about 295/. If the sums contended for are more considerable, the contest may be referred to the king: in all criminal matters the council pronounces without appeal; not that the life of a citizen is of less consequence than his property, but because the application of the law is much easier in criminal than in civil causes. The governor has the right of pardoning in all cases but those of wilful murder and high treason, and even in these he may suspend the execution of the sentence till he has sent to know the king's pleasure.

With respect to religion, the inhabitants not only began themselves by professing that of the church of England; but, in 1642, the assembly passed a decree, which indirectly excluded from the province all those who should not be of this communion. The necessity of peopling the country soon occasioned the repeal of this law, which was rather of a hierarchal than of a religious nature. A toleration granted so late, and evidently *with reluctance*, produced no great effect.

Only

Only five non-conformist churches were added to the colony, one of which consisted of Presbyterians, three of Quakers, and one of French refugees.

The mother church has 39 parishes. Every parish chuses its minister; who must, however, be approved of by the governor before he takes possession. In some parishes, he is paid in land, and furnished with all the necessary instruments for cultivating it; in others, his salary is 16,000 pounds weight of tobacco. Besides this, he receives either about 4*s.* 11*d.* or fifty pounds of tobacco, for every marriage; and 1*l.* 19*s.* 4 1-2*d.* or four hundred pounds of tobacco, for every funeral sermon, which he is obliged to make over the grave of every free man. With all these advantages most of the clergy are not contented, because they may be deprived of their benefices by those who conferred them.

At first the colony was inhabited only by men; soon after, they grew desirous of sharing the sweets of their situation with female companions. In the beginning they gave 98*l.* 8*s.* 9*d.* for every young person that was brought them, from whom they required no other dowry than a certificate of virtue. When the salubrity and fertility of the climate were ascertained, whole families, and even some of respectable condition went over to settle in Virginia. In time they increased to such a degree, that in 1703 there were already 66,606 white people in the colony. If since that time they have not increased above a sixth, it must be attributed to a pretty considerable emigration occasioned by the arrival of the blacks.

The first of these slaves were brought into Virginia by a Dutch ship in 1621. Their number was not considerable at first; but the increase of them has been so prodigious since the beginning of this century, that there are at present 110,000 negroes in the colony; which

which occasions a double loss to mankind, first in exhausting the population of Africa, and secondly in preventing that of the Europeans in America.

Virginia has neither fortified places nor regular troops; they would be useless in a province, which from its situation and the nature of its productions is protected both from foreign invasions, and from the incursions of the savages wandering about this vast continent; who have long been too weak to attack it. The militia, which is composed of all the free men from sixteen to sixty years of age, is sufficient to keep the slaves in order. Every county reviews all its troops once, and the separate companies three or four times a year. Upon the least alarm given in any particular part of the country, all the forces in it march. If they are out more than two days, they receive pay; if not it is reckoned a part of their stated service. Such is the government of Virginia, and such is very nearly that of Maryland; which, after having been included in this colony, was separated from it for reasons which must be explained.

3. *Maryland is detached from Virginia.*

CHARLES the First, far from having any aversion for the Catholics, had some reason to protect them, from the zeal, which in hopes of being tolerated, they had shewn for his interest. But when the accusation of being favourable to popery had alienated the minds of the people from that weak prince, whose chief aim was to establish a despotic government, he was obliged to give the Catholics up to the rigour of the laws enacted against them by Henry the Eighth. These circumstances induced lord Baltimore to seek an asylum in Virginia, where he might be indulged in a liberty of conscience. As he found there no toleration for an exclusive faith

which was itself intolerant, he formed the design of a new settlement in that uninhabited part of the country which lay between the river of Potowmack and Pennsylvania. His death which happened soon after he had obtained powers from the crown for peopling this land, put a stop to the project for that time; but it was resumed for the same religious motives, by his son. This young nobleman left England in the year 1633, with two hundred Roman Catholics, most of them of good families. The education they had received, the cause of religion for which they left their country, and the fortune which their leader promised them, prevented those disturbances which are but too common in infant settlements. The neighbouring savages, prevailed upon by mildness and acts of beneficence concurred with eagerness to assist the new colonists in forming their settlement. With this unexpected help these fortunate persons, attached to each other by the same principles of religion, and directed by the prudent counsels of their chief, applied themselves unanimously to every kind of useful labour: the view of the peace and happiness they enjoyed, invited among them a number of men who were persecuted either for the same religion or for different opinions.

The Catholics of Maryland gave up at length the intolerant principles, of which they themselves had been the victims after having first set the example of them, and opened the doors of their colony to all sects of what religious principles soever. Baltimore also granted the most extensive civil liberty to every stranger who choose to purchase lands in his new colony, the government of which was modelled upon that of the mother country.

These wise and generous precautions, however, did not secure the governor, at the time of the subversion of the monarchy, from losing all the rights and concessions

cessions that he had obtained. Deprived of his possessions by Cromwell, he was restored to them by Charles II. after which they were again disputed with him. Tho' he was perfectly clear from any reproach of mal-administration; and though he was extremely zealous for the Tramontane doctrines, and much attached to the interest of the Stuarts; yet he had the mortification of finding the legality of his charter attacked under the arbitrary reign of James II. and of being obliged to maintain an action at law for the jurisdiction of a province which had been ceded to him by the crown, and which he himself had peopled. This prince, whose misfortune it had always been never to have known his friends from his foes, and who had also the ridiculous pride to think that regal authority was sufficient to justify every act of violence, was preparing a second time to deprive Baltimore, of what had been given him by two kings, his father and his brother; when he was himself removed from the throne which he filled so ill. The successor of this weak despotic prince terminated this contest, which had arisen before his accession to the crown, in a manner worthy of his political character. He left the Baltimores in possession of their revenues, but deprived them of their authority; which, however, they likewise recovered, upon becoming members of the church of England.

The province is at present divided into eleven counties, and inhabited by 40,000 white men, and 60,000 blacks. It is governed by a chief, who is named by the proprietor, and by a council and two deputies chosen in each county. The governor, like the king in the other colonies, has a negative voice in all acts proposed by the assembly; that is to say, the right of rejecting them.

4. *Virginia and Maryland cultivate the same productions.*

IF Maryland were re-united to Virginia, as their common interest seems to require, no difference could be found between the two settlements. They are situated between Pennsylvania and Carolina, and occupy the great space that extends from the sea to the Apalachian mountains. The air, which is damp on the coast, becomes light, pure, and subtle, as one approaches the mountains. The spring and autumn months are of an excellent temperature: in summer there are some days excessively hot, and in winter some extremely cold; but neither of these excesses lasts above a week at a time. The most disagreeable circumstance in the climate is the abundance of nauseous insects that are found there.

All the domestic animals multiply prodigiously; and all sorts of fruits, trees, and vegetables, succeed there extremely well. There is the best corn in all America. The soil, which is rich and fertile in the low lands, is always good, even in those places where it becomes more sandy; more irregular than it is described by some travellers, but tolerably even till one comes near the mountains.

From these reservoirs an incredible number of rivers flow, most of which are separated only by an interval of five or six miles. Besides the fertility which these waters impart to the country they pass through, they also make it infinitely more convenient for trade than any other part of the new world, from facilitating the communications.

Most of these rivers have a very extensive inland navigation for merchant-ships, and some of them for men of war. One may go near two hundred miles

up the Potowmack; above eighty up the James, the York, and the Rapahannock; and, upon the other rivers, to a distance that varies according as the cataracts are more or less distant from their mouths. All these navigable canals, formed by nature, meet in the bay of Chesapeak, which has from seven to nine fathom water both at its entrance and in its whole extent. It reaches above two hundred miles in the inland parts of the country, and is about twelve miles in its main breadth. Tho' it is full of small islands, most of them covered with wood, it is by no means dangerous; and so large, that all the ships in the universe might ride there with ease.

So uncommon an advantage has prevented the formation of any large towns in the two colonies; and accordingly the inhabitants, who were assured that the ships would come up to their warehouses, and that they might embark their commodities without going from their own houses, have dispersed themselves upon the borders of the several rivers. In this situation, they found all the pleasures of a rural life, united to all the ease that trade brings into cities, they found the facility of extending their cultivation in a country that had no bounds, united to all the assistance which the fertilization of the lands receives from commerce. But the mother country suffered a double inconvenience from this dispersion of the colonists: first, because her sailors were longer absent, by being obliged to collect their cargoes from these feathered habitations; and secondly, because their ships are exposed to injury from those dangerous insects, which in the months of June and July infest all the rivers of this distant region. The ministry has therefore neglected no means of engaging the colonists to establish staples for the reception of their commodities. The constraint of the laws has not had

more effect than persuasion. At length, a few years ago, forts were ordered to be built at the entrance of every river, to protect the loading and unloading of the ships. If this project had not failed in the execution from the want of a sufficient fund, it is probable that the inhabitants would have collected imperceptibly round each of these fortresses. But it may still be questioned whether this circumstance would not have proved fatal to population, and whether agriculture might not have lost as much as commerce would have gained by it.

Be this as it may, it is certain that there are but two towns at present of any kind of note in the two colonies. Even those which are the seat of government are of no great importance. Williamsburgh the capital of Virginia, and Annapolis that of Maryland, the first risen upon the ruins of James-town, the other upon those of St Mary, are neither of them superior to one of our common villages.

As, in all human affairs, every good is attended with some kind of evil; so it has happened, that the increase of habitations, by retarding the population of towns, has prevented any artists or manufacturers from being formed in either of the provinces. With all the materials necessary to supply them with most of their wants, and even with several of their conveniences, they are still obliged to draw from Europe their cloths, linens, hats, hardware, and even furniture of the most ordinary kind.

These numerous and general expences have exhausted the inhabitants; besides which, they have vied with each other in displaying every kind of luxury before all the British merchants who visit their plantations from motives of commercial interest. By these means, they have run so much in debt with the mother country, that many of them have been obliged to sell their

their lands; or, in order still to keep possession of them, to mortgage them at an usurious interest of eight or nine *per cent.*

It will be no easy matter for the two provinces ever to emerge from this desperate state. Their navy does not amount to above a thousand tons; and all they send to the Carribbee islands in corn, cattle, and planks, with all they expedite for Europe in hemp, flax, leather, peltry, and walnut-tree or cedar wood, does not bring them a return of more than 43,750*l.* The only resource they have left is in tobacco.

5. *Of the Tobacco-trade.*

TOBACCO is a sharp, caustic, and even venomous plant, which has been formerly of great repute, and is still used in medicine. Every body is acquainted with the general consumption made of it, by chewing, smoking, or taking snuff. It was discovered in the year 1520 by the Spaniards, who found it first in the Jucatan, a large peninsula in the gulph. of Mexico, from whence it was carried into the neighbouring islands. Soon after, the use of it became a matter of dispute among the learned, which the ignorant also took a part in; and thus tobacco acquired some reputation. By degrees fashion and custom have greatly extended its consumption in all parts of the known world; It is at present cultivated with more or less success in Europe, Asia, Africa, and several parts of America.

The stem of this plant is straight, hairy, and viscid; and its leaves are thick, flabby, and of a pale green colour. They are larger at the bottom than at the summit of the plant. It requires a soil of a good consistence, but rich, even, deep, and not too much exposed

posed to inundations. A virgin soil is very fit for this vegetable, which requires a great deal of sap.

The seeds of the tobacco are sown in layers. When it has grown to the height of two inches, and has got at least half a dozen leaves, it is gently pulled up in damp weather, and transplanted with great care into a well-prepared soil, where the plants are placed at the distance of three feet from each other. When they are put into the ground with these precautions, their leaves do not suffer the least injury and all their vigour is renewed in four and twenty hours.

The cultivation of tobacco requires continual attention. The weeds which gather about it must be plucked up; the head of it must be cut off when it is the size of two feet and a half, to prevent it from growing too high; it must be stripped of all sprouting suckers; the leaves which grows too low down upon the stem, those that are in the least inclined to decay, and those which the insects have touched, must all be removed, and their number reduced to eight or ten at most. A single industrious man is able to take care of two thousand five hundred plants, which ought to yield one thousand weight of tobacco. It is left about four months in the ground. At it advances to maturity, the pleasant and lively green colour of its leaves is changed into a darker hue; the leaves are also curved, and the smell they exhale is increased, and extends to a greater distance. The plant is then ripe, and must be cut.

The plants, when collected, are laid in heaps upon the same ground that produced them, where they are left to exude only for one night. The next day they are laid up in warehouses, constructed in such a manner that the air may have free access to them on all sides. Here they are left separately suspended as long a time as is necessary to dry them well. They are then

then spread upon hurdles, and well covered over; where they ferment for a week or two. At last they are stripped of their leaves, which are either put into barrels, or made up into rolls. The other methods of preparing the plant, which vary according to the different tastes of the several nations that use it, have nothing to do with its cultivation.

Of all the countries in which tobacco has been planted, there is none where it has answered so well as in Maryland and Virginia. As it was the only occupation of the first planters, they often cultivated much more than they could find a sale for. They were then obliged to stop the growth of the plantations in Virginia, and to burn a certain number of plants in every habitation throughout Maryland. But in process of time the uses of this herb became so general, that they have been obliged to increase the number both of the whites and blacks who are employed in preparing it. At present each of the colonies furnishes nearly an equal quantity. That from Virginia, which is the mildest, the most perfumed, and the dearest, is consumed in England and in the southern parts of Europe. That of Maryland is fitter for the northern climates, from its cheapness, and even from its coarseness, which makes it better adapted to less delicate organs.

As navigation has not yet made the same progress in these provinces as in the rest of North America, the tobacco is commonly transported in the ships of the mother country. They are very often three, four, and even six months in completing their cargo. This delay arises from several very evident causes. First as there are no magazines or general receptacles for the tobacco, it is necessary to go and fetch it from the several plantations. Secondly, few planters are able to load a whole ship if they would; and if they were, they would not chuse to venture their whole upon one bottom.

bottom. In short, as the price of the freight is fixed, and is always the same whether the articles are ready for embarkation or not, the planters wait till they are pressed by the captains themselves to hasten the exportation. All these several reasons are the cause why vessels only of a moderate size are generally employed upon this service. The larger they would be, the longer time they would be detained in America.

Virginia always pays 1*l.* 19*s.* 4. 1-2*d.* freight for every barrel of tobacco, and Maryland only 1*l.* 14*s.* 5. 1-4*d.* This difference is owing to the less value of the merchandise, and to the greater expedition made in loading it. The English merchant loses by the carriage, but it is made up to him by the commissions. As he is always employed in all the sales and purchases made for the colonists, he is amply compensated for his losses and his trouble, by an allowance of five *per cent* upon these commissions.

This navigation employs two hundred and fifty ships, which make up 30,000 tons. They take in a hundred thousand barrels of tobacco from the two colonies, which at the rate of eight hundred pounds a barrel, make eighty millions of pounds weight. That part of the commodity that grows between York and James rivers, and in some other places, is extremely dear; but the whole taken upon an average sells only for about 2. 1-4*d.* a pound in England, which makes in all 738,281*l.* 5*s.* Besides the advantage it is of to Britain to exchange its manufactures to the amount of this sum, it gains another by the re-exportation of four-fifths of the tobacco. This alone is an object of 442,968*l.* 15*s.* besides what is to be reckoned for freight and commission.

The custom-house duties are a still more considerable object to government. There is a tax of about 6. 1-4*d.* upon every pound of tobacco that enters the
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kingdom. This, supposing the whole eighty millions of pounds imported to remain in it, would bring the state 2,078,124*l.* 17*s.* 9*d.* 3-4*d.* but as four fifths are re-exported, and all the duties are remitted upon that portion, the public revenue gains only 831,250*l.* 10*s.* 1*d.* 1-4*d.* Experience teaches, that a third of this must be deducted for prompt payment of what the merchant has a right to be eighteen months in paying, and to allow for the smuggling that is carried on in the small ports, as well as in the large ones. This deduction will amount to 277,084*l.* 2*s.* 11*d.* 1-4*d.* and there will consequently remain for the government no more than 554,168*l.* 19*s.* 4*d.* 1-2*d.*

Notwithstanding these last abuses, Virginia and Maryland are much more advantageous to Great Britain than the other northern colonies, more so even than Carolina.

C H A P. III.

Of C A R O L I N A.

1. *Origin.*

CAROLINA extends three hundred miles along the coast, which is two hundred miles broad as far as the Apalchian mountains. It was discovered by the Spaniards, soon after the first expeditions in the new world; but as they found no gold there to satisfy their avarice, they despised it. Admiral Coligny with more prudence and ability, opened an asylum there to the industry of the French protestants; but the fanaticism that pursued them soon destroyed all their hopes, which were totally lost in the murder of that just, humane, and enlightened man. Some Eng-
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lish succeeded them towards the end of the 16th century; who, by an unaccountable caprice, were induced to abandon this fertile soil, in order to go and cultivate a more ungrateful land, and in a less agreeable climate.

2. *System of religious and civil government established by Locke.*

THERE WAS NOT a single European remaining in Carolina, when the lords Berkely, Clarendon, Albemarle, Craven, and Ashley, Sir George Carteret, Sir William Berkely, and Sir William Colleton, obtained from Charles II. in 1663, a grant of that fine country. The plan of government for this new colony was laid down by the famous Locke. A philosopher who was a friend to mankind, and to that moderation and justice which ought to be the rule of their actions, could not find better means to oppose the prevalence of fanaticism, than by an unlimited toleration in matters of religion; but not daring openly to attack the prejudices of his time, which were as much the effect of the virtues as of the crimes of the age, he endeavoured at least to reconcile them, if possible, with a principle of reason and humanity. The wild inhabitants of America, said he, have no idea of a revelation; it would therefore, be the height of extravagance to make them suffer for their ignorance. The different sects of Christians who might come to people the colony, would, without doubt, expect a liberty of conscience there, which priests and princes refused them in Europe; nor should Jews or Pagans be rejected on account of a blindness which lenity and persuasion might contribute to remove. Such was the reasoning of Mr Locke with men prejudiced and influenced by opinions which no one hitherto had taken the liberty to call

call in question. Disgusted with the troubles and misfortunes which the different systems of religion had given birth to in Europe, they readily acquiesced in the arguments he proposed to them. They admitted toleration in the same manner as intolerance is received, without examining into the merits of it. The only restriction laid upon this saving principle was, that every person claiming the protection of that settlement, should at the age of seventeen register themselves in some particular communion.

The English philosopher was not so favourable to civil liberty. Whether it were, that those who had fixed upon him to trace out a plan of government had restrained his views, as will be the case with every writer who employs his pen for great men or ministers; or whether Locke, being more of a metaphysician than a statesman, pursued philosophy only in those tracts which had been opened by Descartes and Leibnitz; the same man, who had dissipated and destroyed so many errors in his theory concerning the origin of ideas, made but very feeble and uncertain advances in the path of legislation. The author of a work, whose continuance will render the glory of the French nation immortal, even when tyranny shall have broken all the springs, and all the monuments of the genius and merit of a people esteemed by the whole world for so many amiable and brilliant qualities; even Montesque himself, did not perceive that he was making men for governments, instead of making governments for men.

The code of Carolina, by a singularity not be accounted for in an Englishman and a philosopher, gave to the eight proprietors who founded the settlement and to their heirs, not only all the rights of a monarch, but likewise all the powers of legislation.

The court, which was composed of this sovereign body, and was called the Palatine Court, was invested with the right of nominating to all employments and dignities, and even with that of conferring nobility, but under new and unprecedented titles. For instance they were to create in each county two Caciques, each of whom was to be possessed of twenty-four thousand acres of land : and a Landgrave, who was to be possessed of fourscore thousand. The persons on whom these honours should be bestowed were to compose the upper house ; and their possessions were made unalienable, a circumstance totally inconsistent with good policy. They had only the right of farming or letting out a third part of them at the most for the continuance of three lives.

The lower house was formed of the deputies from the several counties and towns. The number of this representative body was to be increased in proportion as the colony grew more populous. No tenant was to pay more than one shilling per acre, and even this rent was redeemable. All the inhabitants, however both slaves and freemen, were under an obligation to take arms upon the first order they should receive from the Palatine Court.

It was not long before the faults of a constitution, in which the powers of the state were so unequally divided, began to discover themselves. The proprietary lords, influenced by despotic principles, used every endeavour to establish an arbitrary government. On the other hand, the colonists, who were not ignorant of the general rights of mankind, exerted themselves with equal zeal to avoid servitude. From this struggle of opposite interests arose an inevitable confusion, which put a stop to every useful effort of industry. The whole province distracted with quarrels *dissentions*, and tumults, was rendered incapable of
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making any progress, whatever improvements had been expected from the peculiar advantages of its situation.

Nor were these evils sufficient: new ones arose, as if a remedy could only be attained from an excess of grievances. Granville, who, as the oldest of the proprietors, was in 1705 sole governor of the colony, formed the resolution of obliging all the non-conformists, who made up two-thirds of the people, to embrace the forms of worship established in England. This act of violence, though disavowed and rejected by the mother country, inflamed the minds of the people. In 1720, while this animosity was still prevailing, the province was attacked by several bands of savages, driven to despair by a continued course of the most atrocious insolence and injustice. Those unfortunate wretches were all conquered, and all put to the sword: but the courage and vigour which this war revived in the breasts of the colonists was the prelude to the fall of their oppressors. Those tyrants having refused to contribute to the expences of an expedition, the immediate benefits of which they claimed to themselves, were all, excepting Carteret, who still preserved one eighth of the country, stripped in 1728 of their prerogatives, which they had only known how to make an ill use of. They received, however, 23, 625*l.* by way of compensation. From this time the crown resumed the government; and in order to give the colony a foretaste of its moderation, bestowed on it the same constitution as on others. It was further divided into two separate governments, under the names of North and South Carolina, in order to facilitate the administration of it. It is from this happy period that the prosperity of this great province is to be dated.

3. *Climate and produce.*

THERE is not, perhaps, throughout the new world, a climate to be compared with that of Carolina. The two seasons of the year, which, for the most part, only moderate the excesses of the two others, are here delightful. The heats of the summer are not excessive; and the cold of the winter is only felt in the mornings and evenings. The fogs, which are always common upon a coast of any length, are dispersed before the middle of the day. But, on the other hand, here, as well as in every other part almost of America, the inhabitants are subject to such sudden and violent changes of weather, as oblige them to observe a regularity in their diet and clothing which would be unnecessary in a more settled climate. Another inconvenience, peculiar to this tract of the northern continent, is that of being tormented with hurricanes; but these are less frequent and less violent than in the islands.

A vast, melancholy, uniform, unvaried plain extends from the sea-shore fourscore or a hundred miles within land. From this distance the country, beginning to rise, affords a more pleasing prospect, a purer and drier air. This part, before the arrival of the English, was covered with one immense forest, reaching as far as the Apalachian mountains. It consisted of large trees growing as nature had cast them, without order or design, at unequal distances, and not encumbered with underwood; by which means more land could be cleared here in a week, than in several months among us.

The soil of Carolina is very various. On the coast and about the mouths of the rivers, which fall into the sea, it is either covered with impracticable and

unhealthful morasses; or made up of a pale, light, sandy, earth, which produces nothing. In one part, it is barren to an extreme; in another, among the numberless streams that divide the country, it is excessively fruitful. At a distance from the coasts, there are found sometimes large wastes of white sand, which produce nothing but pines; at others there are lands, where the oak and the walnut-tree announce fertility. These variations cease when you get into the inland parts, and the country every where is agreeable and rich.

Admirably adapted as these spots are for the purposes of cultivation, the province does not want others equally favourable for the breeding of cattle. Thousands of horned cattle are raised here; which go out in the morning, without a herdsman, to feed in the woods, and return home at night of their own accord. Their hogs, which are suffered to fatten themselves in the same manner, are still more numerous and much better in their kind. But mutton degenerates there both in flesh and wool. For this reason it is less common.

In 1723, the whole colony consisted of no more than four thousand white people, and thirty-two thousand blacks. Its exportations to other parts of America and to Europe did not exceed 216,621 *l.* 10*s.* Since that time it hath acquired a degree of splendour which it owes entirely to the enjoyment of liberty.

South Carolina, though it hath succeeded in establishing a considerable barter trade with the savages, hath gained a manufacture of linens by means of the French refugees, and invented a new kind of stuff, by mixing the silk it produces with its wool; yet is its progress principally to be attributed to the produce of rice, and indigo.

The first of these articles was brought there by accident. A ship, on its return from India, was wrecked on this coast. It was laden with rice; being tossed on shore by the waves, grew up. This unexpected good fortune led them to the cultivation of a commodity which the soil itself seemed to require. For a long time little progress was made in it; because the colonists being obliged to send their crops to the mother country, from whence they were shipped again for Spain and Portugal, the consumption was, sold them at so low a price, it scarce answered the expences of cultivation. In 1730, when a more enlightened ministry gave them permission to export and sell their grain to foreign markets, an increase of profit has produced an additional growth of the commodity. The quantity is at present greatly augmented, and may increase more; but whether so much to the benefit of the colony, is doubtful. Of all productions, rice is the most detrimental to the salubrity of the climate; least, it hath been esteemed so in the Milanese, where the peasants on the rice-grounds are all of the most complexioned and dropical; and in France, where that article hath been totally prohibited. Even in England, without doubt its precautions against the ill effects of a grain in other respects so nutritious. China also have its preservatives, which are sets up against its nature, whose favours are sometimes attended with pernicious consequences. Perhaps, also, in the torrid zone, where rice grows in the greatest abundance, the heat, which makes it flourish in the want of water, quickly disperses the moist and vapours that exhale from the rice-fields. But the cultivation of rice should one day come to be introduced in Carolina, that of indigo will make ample amends for it.

This plant, which is a native of Indostan, was first brought to perfection in Mexico and the Leeward islands. It was tried later, and with less success, in South Carolina. This principal ingredient in dying is there of so inferior a quality, that it is scarce sold at half the price it bears in other places. Yet those who cultivate it do not despair in time of supplanting both the Spaniards and French at every Market. The goodness of their climate, the extent of their lands, the plenty and cheapness of their provisions, the opportunities they have of supplying themselves with utensils and of procuring slaves; every thing, in short, flatters their expectation: and the same hope has always extended itself to the inhabitants of North Carolina.

It is well known, that this country was the first, on the continent of the new world, on which the English landed; for here is the bay of Roanoak, which Raleigh took possession of in 1585. A total emigration, in a short time, left it destitute of colonists; nor did it begin to be re-peopled, even when large settlements were established in the neighbouring countries. We cannot otherwise account for this dereliction, than from the obstacles which trading vessels had to encounter in this beautiful region. None of its rivers are deep enough to admit ships of more than seventy or eighty tons. Those of greater burden are forced to anchor between the continent and some adjacent islands. The tenders, which are employed in lading and unlading them, augment the expence and trouble both of their exports and imports.

From this circumstance, probably, it was, that North-Carolina in the beginning was inhabited only by a set of wretches without name, laws, or profession. In proportion as the lands in the neighbouring colonies grew more scarce, those who were not able

to purchase them, betook themselves to a country where they could get lands without purchase. Refugees of other kinds availed themselves of the same resource. Order and property became established at the same time; and this colony, with fewer advantages than South-Carolina, obtained a greater number of European settlers.

The first people, whom chance dispersed along these savage coasts, confined themselves to the breeding of cattle, and cutting wood, which were taken off their hands by the merchants of New England. In a short time they contrived to make the pine-tree produce them turpentine, tar, and pitch. For the turpentine, they had nothing to do but to make slits in the trunk of the tree, about a foot in length, at the bottom of which they placed vessels to receive it. When they wanted tar, they raised a circular platform of potter's earth, on which they laid piles of pine-wood: to these they set fire, and the resin distilled from them into casks placed underneath. The tar was converted into pitch, either in great iron pots, in which they boiled it; or in pits formed of potter's earth, into which it was poured while in a fluid state. This labour, however, was not sufficient for the maintenance of the inhabitants: they then proceeded to grow corn; and for a long time were contented with maize, as their neighbours in South-Carolina were obliged to be, where the wheat being subject to mildew, and to exhaust itself in straw, never thrived. But several experiments having proved to the North-Carolinians that they were not liable to the same inconvenience, they succeeded so far in the cultivation of that grain, that they were even able to supply a considerable exportation. Rice and indigo have been but lately introduced into this province, to join the harvests

vests of Africa and Asia to those of Europe. The cultivation of them is but yet in its infancy.

There is scarce one twentieth part of the territory belonging to the two Carolinas that is cleared; and, at this time, the only cultivated spots are those which are the most sandy and the nearest to the sea. The reason why the colonists have not settled farther back in the country is, that of ten navigable rivers, there is not one that will admit shipping higher than sixty miles. This inconvenience is not to be remedied but by making roads or canals; and works of that kind require so many hands, and so much expence and knowledge, that the hopes of such an improvement are still very distant.

Neither of the colonies, however, have reason to complain of their lot. The imposts, which are all levied on the exportation and importation of merchandise, do not exceed, 5,906 *l.* 5 *s.* The paper-currency of North Carolina does not amount to more than 49,118 *l.* 15 *s.* and that of South Carolina, which is infinitely more wealthy, is only 246,093 *l.* 15 *s.* Neither of them is in debt to the mother country; and this advantage, which is not common even in the English colonies, they derive from the great amount of their exportations to their neighbouring provinces, the Leeward islands, and to Europe.

In 1754, there were exported from South Carolina, seven hundred and fifty-nine barrels of turpentine, two thousand nine hundred and forty-three of tar; five thousand eight hundred and sixty-nine of pitch or rosin; four hundred and sixteen barrels of beef; fifteen hundred and sixty of pork; sixteen thousand four hundred bushels of Indian corn, and nine thousand one hundred and sixty-two of pease; four thousand one hundred and eighty tanned hides, and twelve hundred in the hair; one million one hundred and forty

forty thousand planks, two hundred and six thousand joists, and three hundred and eighty-five thousand feet of timber; eight hundred and eighty-two hog-heads of wild deer-skins; one hundred and four thousand six hundred and eighty-two barrels of rice; two hundred and sixteen thousand nine hundred and eighty four pounds of indigo.

In the same year North Carolina exported sixty-one thousand five hundred and twenty-eight barrels of tar, twelve thousand and fifty-five of pitch, and ten thousand four hundred and twenty-nine of turpentine; seven hundred and sixty-two thousand three hundred and thirty planks, and two thousand six hundred and forty-seven feet of timber; sixty-one thousand, five hundred bushels of wheat, and ten thousand of pease; three thousand three hundred barrels of beef and pork one hundred hogheads of tobacco; ten thousand hundred-weight of tanned hides, and thirty thousand skins of different kinds.

In the above account, there is not a single article that has not been considerably increased since that time. Several of them have been doubled; and the most valuable of all, the indigo, has increased to three times the quantity.

Some productions of North Carolina are exported to Europe and the Caribbees, tho' there is no staple town to receive them, and that Edinton, the ancient capital of the province, as well as that which has been built in lieu of it upon the river Neus, can scarce be considered as small villages. The largest and most valuable part of its exports is conveyed to CHARLES-TOWN, to increase the riches of South Carolina.

This town lies between the two navigable rivers, Cooper and Ashly; surrounded by the most beautiful plantations of the colony, of which it is the centre and the capital. It is well built, intersected with several

veral agreeable streets, and its fortifications are tolerably regular. The large fortunes that have been made there from the accession and circulation of its trade; must necessarily have had some influence upon the manners of the people: of all the towns in North America, it is the one in which the conveniences of luxury are most to be met with. But the disadvantage its road labours under, of not being able to admit of ships above two hundred tons, will make it lose its present splendor. It will be deserted for *Port-Royal*, which admits vessels of all kinds into its harbour, and in great numbers. A settlement has already been formed there, which is continually increasing, and may most probably meet with the greatest success. Besides the productions of North and South Carolina, that will naturally come to its market, it will also receive those of Georgia, a colony that has been lately established near it.

C H A P. IV.

Of G E O R G I A.

1. *Foundation.*

CAROLINA and Spanish Florida are separated from each other by a great tract of land which extends one hundred and twenty miles from the sea-coast and three hundred miles from thence to the Apalachian mountains, and whose boundaries to the north and south are the rivers Savannah and Alabamaha. The English ministry had been long desirous of erecting a colony on this tract of country, that was considered as dependent upon Carolina. One of those instances of benevolence, which liberty, the source
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of every patriotic virtue, renders more frequent in England than in any other country, served to determine the views of government with regard to this place. A rich and humane citizen, at his death, left the whole of his estate to set at liberty such insolvent debtors as were detained in prison by their creditors. Prudential reasons of policy concurred in the performance of this will dictated by humanity; and the government gave orders, that such unhappy prisoners, as were released, should be transplanted into that desert country, that was now intended to be peopled; it was named *Georgia*, in honour of the reigning sovereign.

This instance of respect, the more pleasing as it was not the effect of flattery, and the execution of a design of so much real advantage to the state, were entirely the work of the nation. The parliament added 9843*l.* 15*s.* to the estate left by the will of the citizen; and a voluntary subscription produced a much more considerable sum. General Oglethorpe, a man who had distinguished himself in the house of commons by his taste for great designs, by his zeal for his country, and his passion for glory, was fixed upon to direct these public finances, and to carry into execution so excellent a project. Desirous of maintaining the reputation he had acquired, he chose to conduct himself the first colonists that were to be sent to Georgia; where he arrived in January 1733, and fixed his people on a spot at ten miles distance from the sea, in an agreeable and fertile plain on the banks of the Savannah. This rising settlement was called *Savannah* from the name of the river; and inconsiderable as it was in its infant state, was, however, to become the capital of a flourishing colony. It consisted of no more than one hundred persons; but, before the end of the year, the number was increased to 618, 127 of whom had emigrated at their
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their own expence. Three hundred men and 113 women, 102 lads and 83 girls, formed the beginning of this new population and the hopes of a numerous posterity.

This settlement was increased in 1735 by the arrival of some Scotch highlanders. Their national courage induced them to accept an establishment offered them upon the borders of the Alatomaha, to defend the colony, if necessary, against the attacks of the neighbouring Spaniards. Here they built the towns of Darien and Fredrica, and several of their countrymen came over to settle among them.

In the same year, a great number of protestants, driven out of Saltzburg by a fanatical priest, embarked for Georgia to enjoy peace and liberty of conscience. At first they settled on a spot situated just above that of the infant colony; but they afterwards chose to be at a greater distance, and to go as far down as the mouth of the Savannah, where they built a town called *Ebenezer*.

Some Switzers followed the example of these wise Saltzburghers, though they had not like them, been persecuted. They also settled on the banks of the Savannah; but at the distance of four and thirty miles from the Germans. Their colony, consisting of a hundred habitations, was named *Pursburgh*, from Pury their founder, who, having been at the expence of their settlement, was deservedly chosen their chief, in testimony of their gratitude to him.

In these four or five colonies, some men were found more inclined to trade than agriculture. These therefore, separated from the rest in order to build the city Augusta, two hundred and thirty-six miles distant from the ocean. The goodness of the soil, though excellent in itself, was not the motive of their fixing upon this situation; but the facility it afforded

them of carrying on the peltry trade with the savages. Their project was so successful, that as early as the year 1739, six hundred people were employed in this commerce. The sale of the skins was with much greater facility carried on from the circumstance of the Savannah admitting the largest ships to sail upon it as far as the walls of Augusta.

The mother country ought, one would imagine, to have formed great expectations from a colony, where she had sent near five thousand men, and laid out 64,968*l.* 15*s.* independent of the voluntary contributions that had been raised by zealous patriots. But to her great surprise, she received information in 1741, that there remained scarce a sixth part of that numerous colony sent to Georgia; who being now totally discouraged, seemed only desirous to fix in a more favourable situation. The reasons of these calamities were inquired into and discovered.

2. Impediments that have prevented the progress of Georgia.

THIS colony, even in its infancy, brought with it the seeds of its decay. The government, together with the property of Georgia, had been ceded to individuals. The example of Carolina ought to have prevented this imprudent scheme, but nations as well as individuals do not learn instruction from past misconduct. An enlightened government, tho' checked by the watchful eye of the people, is not always able to guard against every misuse of its confidence. The English ministry, though zealously attached to the common welfare, sacrificed the public interest to the rapacious views of interested individuals.

The first use that the proprietors of Georgia made of the unlimited power they were invested with, was to
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establish a system of legislation, that made them entirely masters not only of the police, justice, and finances of the country, but even of the lives and estates of its inhabitants. Every species of right was withdrawn from the people, who are the original possessors of them all. Obedience was required of the people, though contrary to their interest and knowledge; and it was considered here, as in other countries, as their duty and their fate.

As great inconveniences had been found to arise in other colonies from large possessions, it was thought proper in Georgia to allow each family only fifty acres of land; which they were not permitted to mortgage, or even to dispose of by will to their female issue. This last regulation of making only the male issue capable of inheritance, was soon abolished; but there still remained too many obstacles to excite a spirit of emulation. It seldom happens, that a man resolves to leave his country but upon the prospect of some great advantage that works strongly upon his imagination. Whatever limits are prescribed to his industry, are, therefore, so many checks which prevent him from engaging in any project. The boundaries assigned to every plantation must necessarily have produced this bad effect. Several other errors still affected the original plan of this colony, which prevented its increase.

The taxes imposed upon the most fertile of the British colonies, are very inconsiderable; and even these are not levied till the settlements have acquired some degree of vigour and prosperity. From this infant state, Georgia had been subjected to the fines of a feudal government, with which it had been as it were fettered. The revenues raised by this kind of service increased prodigiously, in proportion as the colony extended itself. The founders of it, blinded by a spirit of avidity, did not perceive, that the smallest

duty imposed upon the trade of a populous and flourishing province, would much sooner enrich them than the largest fines laid upon a barren and uncultivated country.

To this species of oppression was added another; which, however incredible it may appear, might arise from a spirit of benevolence. The planters of Georgia were not allowed the use of slaves. Carolina and some other colonies having been established without their assistance, it was thought, that a country, destined to be the bulwark of those American possessions, ought not to be peopled by a set of slaves, who could not be in the least interested in the defence of their oppressors. But it was not at the same time foreseen, that colonists, who were less favoured by the mother country than their neighbours who were situated in a country less susceptible of tillage and in a hotter climate, would want strength and spirit to undertake a cultivation that required greater encouragement.

The indolence which so many obstacles gave rise to, found a further excuse, in another prohibition that had been imposed. The disturbances produced by the use of spirituous liquors over all the continent of North America, induced the founders of Georgia to forbid the importation of rum. This prohibition, though well intended, deprived the colonists of the only liquor that could correct the bad qualities of the waters of the country, that were generally unwholesome; and of the only means they had to restore the waste of strength and spirits that must be the consequence of incessant labour. Besides this, it prevented their commerce with the Antilles; as they could not go thither to barter their wood, corn, and cattle, that ought to have been their most valuable commodities, in return for the rum of those islands.

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The mother country at length perceived how much these defects in the political regulations and institutions had prevented the increase of the colony, and freed them from the restraints they had before been clogged with ; and the government in Georgia was settled upon the same plan as that which had rendered Carolina so flourishing ; and, instead of being dependent on a few individuals, became one of the national possessions.

Though this colony has not so extensive a territory, so temperate a climate, nor so fertile a soil, as the neighbouring province ; and though it can never be so flourishing as Carolina, notwithstanding it cultivates rice, indigo, and almost all the same productions ; yet it will become advantageous to the mother country, when the apprehensions arising from the tyranny of its government, which have with reason prevented people from settling there, are removed. It will one day no longer be asserted, that Georgia is the least populous of all the English colonies upon the continent, notwithstanding the succours government has so amply bestowed upon it. All these advantages will fortunately be increased by the acquisition of Florida ; a province which from its vicinity must necessarily influence the prosperity of Georgia, and which claims our attention for still more important reasons.

C H A P. V.

O F F L O R I D A.

1 History of Florida. Its cession from the Spaniards to the British.

UNDER the name of Florida, the ambition of Spain comprehended all that tract of land in America which extends from Mexico to the most northern regions. But fortune, which sports with the vanity of nations, has long since confined this vague description to the peninsula formed by the sea on the channel of Bahama, between Georgia and Louisiana. The Spaniards, who had often satisfied themselves in preventing the population of a country they could not inhabit themselves, were desirous in 1565 of settling on this spot, after having driven the French from it, who had begun the year before to form a small establishment there.

The most easterly settlement in this colony was known by the name of St. Mattheo. The conquerors would have abandoned it, notwithstanding it was situated on a navigable river at two leagues distance from the sea, in an agreeable and fertile soil, had they not discovered the Sassafras upon it.

This tree, a native of America, is better in Florida than in any other part of that continent. It grows equally on the borders of the sea and upon the mountains; but always in a soil that is neither too dry, nor too damp. It is straight and lofty, like the fir-tree, without branches, and its top is formed somewhat in the shape of a cup. It is an ever-green, and its leaves resemble those of the laurel. Its flower, which is yellow,

yellow, is taken as the mullein and tea in infusion. Its root, which is well known in trade, being very serviceable in medicine, ought to be spongy, light, of a greyish colour; of a sharp, sweetish, and aromatic taste; and should have the smell of the fennel and anise. These qualities give it the virtue of promoting perspiration, resolving thick and viscous humours, and relieving paltics and catarrhs. It was formerly much used in venereal complaints.

The first Spaniards who settled there, would probably have fallen a sacrifice to this last disorder, but for the assistance of this powerful remedy; they would at least, not have recovered from those dangerous fevers they were generally subject to at St Mattheo, whether in consequence of the food of the country or the badness of the waters. But the savages taught them, that by drinking, in a morning fasting, and at their meals, water in which saffrafas had been boiled, they might certainly depend upon a speedy recovery. The experiment, upon trial, proved successful. But still the village never emerged from the obscurity and distress which were, undoubtedly, the natural and insurmountable consequences that attended the conquerors of the new world.

Another establishment was formed upon the same coast, at fifteen leagues distance from St Mattheo, known by the name of St Augustine. The English attacked it in 1747, but were obliged to give up their attempts. Some Scotch Highlanders, who were desirous of covering the retreat of the assailants, were repulsed and slain. A sergeant, who fought among the Spaniards, who spared by the Indian savages, only that he might be reserved to undergo those torments which they inflict upon their prisoners. This man, it is said, on seeing the horrid tortures that awaited him,

him, addressed the blood-thirsty multitude in the following manner :

“ Heroes and patriarchs of the western world, you
 “ were not the enemies I fought for; but you have
 “ at last been the conquerors. The chance of war
 “ has thrown me in your power. Make what use
 “ you please of the right of conquest. This is a
 “ right I do not call in question. But as it is cus-
 “ tomary in my country to offer a ransom for one’s
 “ life, listen to a proposal not unworthy your notice.
 “ Know then, valiant Americans, that in the
 “ country of which I am a native, there are some
 “ men who possess a superior knowledge of the se-
 “ crets of nature. One of those sages, connected to
 “ me by the ties of kindred, imparted to me, when I
 “ became a soldier, a charm to make me invulnerable.
 “ You must have observed how I have escaped all
 “ your darts: without such a charm, would it have
 “ been possible for me to have survived all the mor-
 “ tal blows you have aimed at me? For I appeal to
 “ your own valour, to testify that mine has sufficient-
 “ ly exerted itself, and has not avoided any danger.
 “ Life is not so much the object of my request, as the
 “ glory of having communicated to you a secret of
 “ so much consequence to your safety, and of ren-
 “ dering the most valiant nation upon the earth, in-
 “ vincible. Suffer me only to have one of my hands
 “ at liberty, in order to perform the ceremonies of
 “ enchantment, of which I will now make trial on
 “ myself before you.”

The Indians listened with eagerness to this discourse, which was flattering both to their warlike character and their turn for the marvellous. After a short consultation, they untied one of the prisoner’s arms. The Highlander begged that they would put his broad sword into the hands of the most expert and stoutest

among

among them ; and at the same time laying bare his neck, after having rubbed it, and muttering some words accompanied with magic signs, he cried aloud with a cheerful countenance : “ Observe now, O valiant Indians, an incontestable proof of my honesty. Thou warrior, who now holds my keen-cutting weapon, do thou now strike with all thy strength : far from being able to sever my head from my body, thou wilt not even wound the skin of my neck.”

He had scarcely spoke these words, when the Indian, aiming the most violent blow, struck off the head of the sergeant to the distance of twenty feet. The savages, astonished, stood motionless, viewing the bloody corpse of the stranger, and then turning their eyes upon one another, as if to reproach each other with their blind credulity. But admiring the artifice the prisoner had made use of to avoid the torture by hastening his death, they bestowed on his body the funeral honours of their country. If this fact, the date of which is too recent to admit of credit, has not all the marks of authenticity it should have, it will only be one falsehood more to be added to the accounts of travellers.

The Spaniards, who in all their progress through America, were more employed in destroying the inhabitants than in constructing of buildings, had formed only those two settlements we have taken notice of at the mouth of the channel of Bahama. At fourscore leagues distance from St Augustine, upon the entrance of the gulph of Mexico, they had raised that of St Mark, at the mouth of the river Apalache. But this situation, well adapted to maintain a communication between the two continents of the new world, had already lost all the little consequence it had at first obtained, when the English settled at Carolina in 1704, and entirely destroyed it.

At the distance of thirty leagues further, was another colony, known by the name of St Joseph, but of less consequence than that of St Mark. Situated on a flat coast, and exposed to every wind, and on a barren soil and an uncultivated country, it was the last place where one might expect to meet with inhabitants. But avarice being frequently a dupe to ignorance, some Spaniards settled there.

Those Spaniards who had formed an establishment at the bay of Pensacola upon the borders of Louisiana, were at least happier in their choice of situation. The soil was susceptible of culture; and there was a road which had it been a little deeper at its entrance, might have been thought a good one, if the best ships that arrived there had not soon been worm-eaten.

These five colonies, scattered over a space sufficient to have formed a great kingdom, did not contain more than three thousand inhabitants surpassing each other in sloth and poverty. They were all supported by the produce of their cattle. The hides they sold at the Havannah, and the provisions with which they served their garrison, whose pay amounted to 32,822 l. 10 s. enabled them to purchase cloths and whatever else their soil did not furnish them with. Notwithstanding the miserable state in which they had been left by the mother country, the greatest part of them chose to go to Cuba, when Florida was ceded to Britain by the treaty of 1763. This acquisition, therefore, was no more than a desert; yet still it was some advantage to have got rid of a number of lazy, indolent, and disaffected inhabitants.

Great Britain was pleased with the prospect of peopling a vast province, whose limits have been extended even to the Mississippi by the cession France has made of part of Louisiana. The better to fulfil her project

she has divided it into two governments, under the names of East and West Florida.

The British had long been desirous of establishing themselves in that part of the continent, in order to open a free communication with the wealthiest colonies of Spain. At first they had no other view but in the profits arising from a contraband trade. But an advantage so precarious and momentary, was not an object of sufficient importance, nor any way suitable to the ambition of a great power. Cultivation alone can render the conquests of an industrious people flourishing. Sensible of this, the British give every encouragement to promote culture in the finest parts of their dominions. In one year, 1769, the parliament voted no less than 9,007 l. 10 s. 7. 1-2d. for the two Floridas. Here, at least, the mother for some time administers to her new-born children; whereas, in other nations, the government sucks and exhausts at the same time the milk of the mother country and the blood of the colonies.

2. *By what means Britain may render Florida useful to her.*

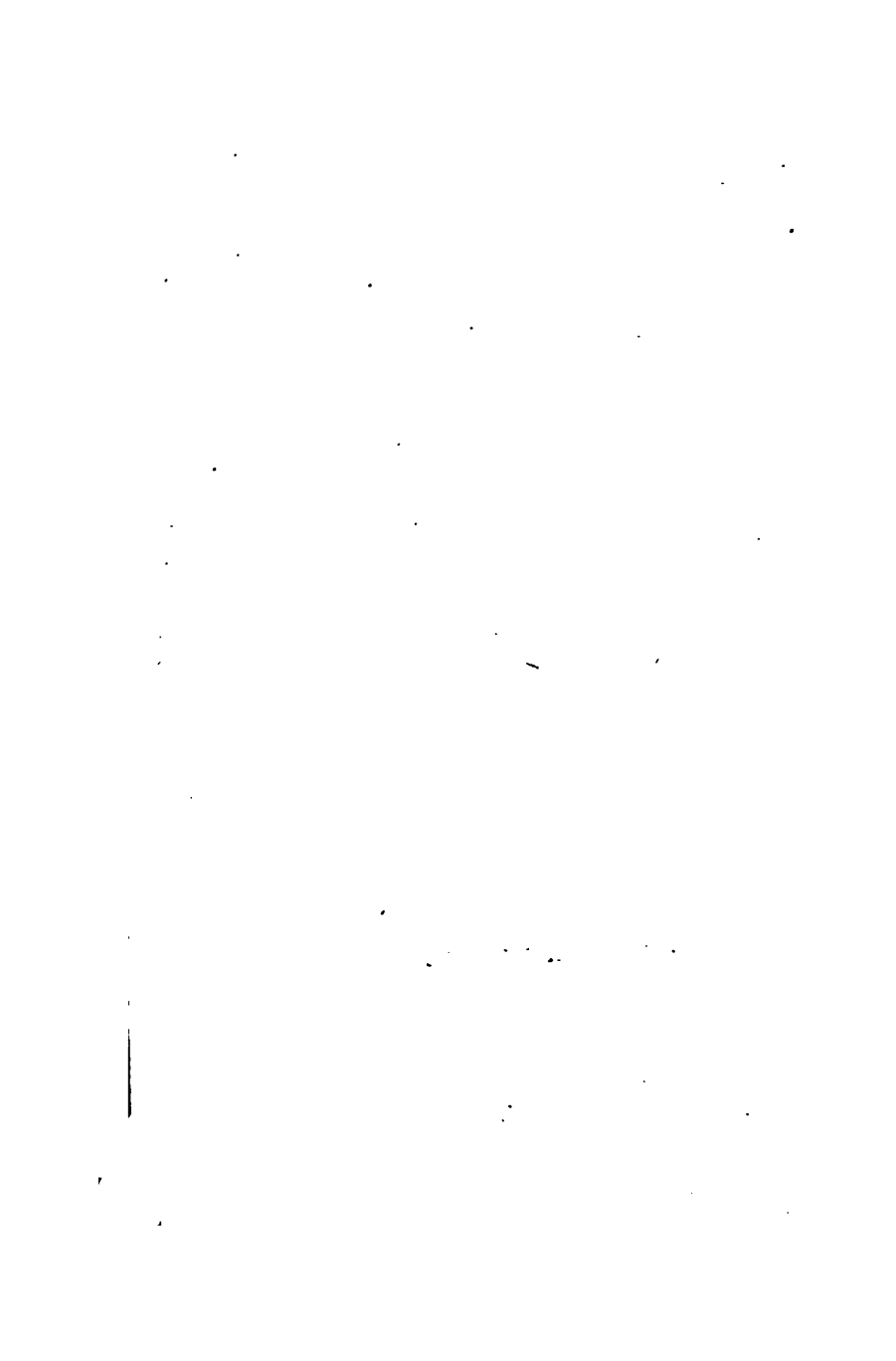
It is not easy to determine, to what degree of splendour this indulgence, with time and good management may raise the Floridas. Appearances, however, are highly promising. The air is healthy, and the soil fit for every kind of grain. Their first trials of rice, cotton, and indigo, were attended with such success, that the number of colonists was greatly increased by it. They pour in from the neighbouring provinces, the mother country, and all the Protestant dominions in Europe. How greatly might this population be increased, if the sovereigns of North America would depart from the maxims they have uniformly pursued,
and



him a present of brandy. Some Iroquois, who were standing round their chief, shuddered at the sight of this liquor. Not doubting that it was poisoned, they insisted that he should not accept so suspicious a present. "How can it be," said their leader, "that a man who knows my esteem for him, and the signal services I have done him, should entertain a thought of taking away my life?" Saying this, he received and drank the brandy with a confidence equal to that of the most renowned hero of antiquity.

By many instances of magnanimity similar to this, the eyes of the savage nations had all been fixed upon Pondiack. His design was to unite them in a body for the defence of their lands and independence. Several unfortunate circumstances concurred to defeat this grand project; but it may be resumed, and it is not impossible but it may succeed. Should this be the case, the English will be under a necessity of protecting their frontier against an enemy, that hath none of those expences to sustain, or evils to dread, which war brings with it among civilized nations; and will find the advantages they have promised themselves from conquests made at the expence of so much treasure and so much blood, considerably retarded, at least, if not entirely cut off.

END OF THE FIRST VOLUME.



PHILOSOPHICAL and POLITICAL
H I S T O R Y
OF THE
BRITISH SETTLEMENTS AND TRADE
IN
A M E R I C A
VOLUME II

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

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BY J. H. BURTON AND J. H. BURTON

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PHILOSOPHICAL and POLITICAL

H I S T O R Y

O F T H E

B R I T I S H

Settlements and Trade in AMERICA.

B O O K III.

OF CANADA, ACQUIRED FROM THE
FRENCH.

C H A P. I.

*Face of the Country. Climate. Government, customs,
virtues, and vices, of the Indians.*

THE unbounded space that opened itself to the view of the first settlers, discovered only dark, thick, and deep forests, whose height alone was a proof of their antiquity. Numberless large rivers came down from a considerable distance to water these immense regions. The intervals between them were full of lakes. Four of these measured from two to five hundred leagues round. These sort of inland seas communicated with each other; and their waters, after forming the great river St. Lawrence, considerably increased the bed of the ocean. Every thing in this rude part of the new world appeared grand and sublime.

Q3

sublime. Nature here displayed such luxuriant and majestic majesty as commanded veneration; and a thousand wild-graces, far superior to the artificial beauties of our climates. Here the imagination of a painter or poet would have been raised, animated, and filled with those ideas which leave a lasting impression on the mind. All these countries exhaled an air fit to prolong life. This temperature, which from the position of the climate must have been extremely pleasant, notwithstanding its wholesomeness by the singular severity of a long and intense winter. Those who impute this singularity merely to the woods, springs and mountains, with which this country abounds, have not taken every thing into consideration. Others add to these causes of the cold, the elevation of the land, a pure ærial atmosphere seldom loaded with vapours, and the direction of the winds which blow from north to south over the frozen seas.

Yet the inhabitants of this sharp climate were but thinly clad. A cloak of buffalo or beaver skin, bound with a leathern girdle, and stockings made of roe-buck skin, was the whole of their dress before their intercourse with us. What they have added since gives great offence to their old men, who are ever lamenting the degeneracy of their manners.

Few of these savages knew any thing of husbandry: they only cultivated maize; and that they left entirely to the management of the women, as being beneath the dignity of independent men. Their bitterest imprecation against an enemy was, that he might be reduced to till the ground. Sometimes they would condescend to go a-fishing; but the employment of their life and their glory was hunting. For this purpose the whole nation went out as they did to war; every family, every hut, marched in search of sustenance. They prepared for the expedition by severe fasting, and

and never stirred out till they had implored the assistance of their god; they did not pray for strength to kill the beasts, but that they might be so fortunate as to meet with them. No persons staid at home, except infirm and old men; all the rest sallied forth, the men to kill the game, and the women to dry and bring it home. They imagined that the winter was the finest season of the year: the bear, the roe-buck, the stag and the elk, could not then run with any degree of swiftness through snow that was four or five feet deep on the ground. The savages, who were stopt neither by the bushes, the torrents, the ponds, nor the rivers, and who could out-run most of the swifter animals, were seldom unsuccessful in the chace. When they failed in their sport, they lived upon acorns; and for want of these, they fed upon the sap or inner skin that grows between the wood and the bark of the aspen-tree and the birch.

In the interval between their hunting parties, they made or mended their bows and arrows, the rackets for running upon the snow, and the canoes for crossing the lakes and rivers. These travelling implements and a few earthen pots, were all the arts of these wandering nations. Those among them who were collected in towns, added to these the labours requisite to their sedentary way of life, for the fencing of their huts, and securing them from being attacked. The savages then gave themselves up to a total inaction, in the most profound security. This people, content with their lot, and satisfied with what nature afforded them, were unacquainted with that restlessness which arises from a sense of our own weakness, that loathing of ourselves and every thing about us, that necessity of flying from solitude, and easing ourselves of the burden of life by throwing it upon others.

Their

Their stature in general was beautifully proportioned; but they had more agility than strength, and were better calculated for swiftness than hard labour. Their features were regular, with that fierce countenance which they contracted in war and hunting. Their complexion was copper-colour; and they had it from nature, which tans all men who are constantly exposed to the open air. This complexion was rendered still more disagreeable by the absurd custom that all savages have of painting their bodies and faces, either to distinguish each other at a distance, or to make themselves more agreeable to their mistresses, or more formidable in war. Besides this varnish, they rubbed themselves with the fat of quadrupeds, or the oil of fish, which prevented the intolerable stings of gnats and insects that swarm in uncultivated countries. These ointments were prepared and mixed up with certain red juices which are supposed to be a deadly poison to the moschetoes. To these several methods of anointing themselves, which penetrate and discolour the skin, may be added the fumigations they made in their huts to keep off those insects, and the smoke of the fires they kept all winter to warm themselves, and to dry their meat. This was sufficient to make them appear frightful to our people, though they undoubtedly imagined that it added to their beauty. Their sight, smell, and hearing, and all their senses, were remarkably quick, and gave them early notice of their dangers and wants. These were few, but their sicknesses were still fewer. They hardly knew of any but what were occasioned by too violent exercise, or eating too much after long abstinence.

Their population was but moderate; and possibly this might be an advantage them. Polished nations must wish for an increase of population; because, as they are governed by ambitious rulers, the more inclined

ined to war from not being personally engaged in it
 ey are under a necessity of fighting, either to invade
 repulse their neighbours : and because they never
 ve a sufficient extent of territory to satisfy their en-
 rprising and expensive way of living. But uncon-
 cted nations, who are always wandering, and guarded
 the deserts which divide them ; who can fly when
 ey are attacked, and whose poverty preserves them
 om committing or suffering any injustice ; such sa-
 ge nations had no occasion to multiply. If they
 e but able to resist the wild beasts, occasionally to drive
 ay an insignificant enemy, and mutually to assist
 ch other, nothing more is required. If they were
 ore populous, they would the sooner have exhaust-
 the countries they inhabit, and be forced to remove
 search of others ; the only, or at least the greatest,
 isfortune attending their precarious way of life.

Independent of these reflections, which, possibly,
 d not occur so strongly to the savages of Canada,
 e nature of things was alone sufficient to check their
 crease. Tho' they lived in a country abounding
 game and fish, yet in some seasons, and sometimes
 r whole years, this single resource failed them : and
 time then made a dreadful havock among people
 ho were at too great a distance to assist each other.
 heir wars or transient hostilities, the result of old
 animosities, were very destructive. Men constantly ac-
 istomed to hunt their prey, to tear in pieces the
 imal they had overtaken, to hear the cries of death
 id see the shedding of blood, must have been still
 ore unmerciful in war, if possible, than our own
 ople. In a word, notwithstanding all that has been
 d in favour of inuring children to hardships, and
 rich missed Peter the Great to such a degree, that
 ordered that none of his sailors children should
 ink any thing but sea water ; an experiment which
 proved

proved fatal to all who tried it; it is certain, that a great many young savages perished thro' hunger, thirst, cold, and fatigue. Even those whose constitution was strong enough to bear the usual exercises of those climates, to swim over the broadest rivers, to go two hundred leagues on a hunting party, to live many days without sleep, to subsist a considerable time without any food; such men must have been exhausted, and totally unfit for the purposes of generation. Few lived so long as our people, who lead a more uniform and quiet life.

The austerity of a Spartan education, the custom of inuring children to hard labour and coarse food, has been productive of dangerous mistakes. Philosophers, desirous of alleviating the miseries incident to mankind, have endeavoured to comfort the wretched who have been doomed to a life of hardships, by persuading them that it was the most wholesome and the best. The rich have eagerly adopted a system which hardened their hearts against the sufferings of the poor, and excused them from the duties of humanity and compassion. But it is a mistake to imagine that men who are employed in the more laborious arts of society, should live as long as those who enjoy the fruit of their toil. Moderate labour strengthens the human frame, excessive labour impairs it. A peasant is an old man at sixty; whilst the inhabitants of towns who live in affluence and with some degree of moderation, frequently attain to fourscore and upwards. Even men of letters, whose employments are by no means conducive to health, afford many instances of longevity. Let not our modern productions propagate this false and cruel error, and encourage the rich to disregard the groans of the poor, and transfer all their sensibility from their vassals to their dogs and horses.

Three original languages were spoken in Canada; the Algonquin, the Sioux, and the Huron. They were considered as primitive languages, because each of them contained many of those imitative words, which convey an idea of things by the sound. The dialects derived from them were nearly as many as their towns. No abstruse terms were found in those languages, because the infant mind of the savages seldom goes beyond the present object and the present time; and as they have but few ideas, they seldom need to represent several under one and the same sign. Besides, the language of these people, generally arising from a quick, single, and strong sensation, excited by the great scenes of nature, contracted a lively and poetical cast in their strong and active imagination. The astonishment and admiration which their very ignorance excited, gave them a strong propensity to exaggeration. Their soul expressed what their eyes saw; their language painted, as it were, natural objects in strong colouring, and their discourses were quite picturesque. For want of terms agreed upon to denote certain compound ideas, they made use of figurative expressions. What was still wanting in speech, they supplied by their gestures, their attitudes, their bodily motions, and the modulations of the voice. The boldest metaphors were more familiar to them in common conversation, than they are even in epic poetry in the European languages. Their speeches in public assemblies, especially, were full of images, energy, and pathos. No Greek or Roman orator ever spoke, perhaps, with more strength and sublimity than one of their chiefs. Our people wanted to persuade them to remove at a distance from their native soil. *We were born, said he, on this ground our fathers lie buried in it. Shall we say to the bones of our fathers, Arise and come with us into a foreign land?*

It may easily be imagined that such nations not be so gentle nor so weak as those of Sourica. They shewed that they had that vigour and energy which are always found in the northern nations, unless, like the Laplanders, they are a different species from ourselves. They had but attained to that degree of knowledge and civilization which instinct alone may lead men in the first few years; and it is among such people that a philosopher may study man in this natural state.

They were divided into several small republics, whose form of government was nearly similar. Some had hereditary chiefs; others elected. The greater part were only directed by their chiefs. They were mere associations, formed by choice, always free; united, indeed, but bound by no laws. The will of individuals was not even overruled by the general one. All decisions were considered as matter of advice, which was not binding, nor enforced by any penalty. If, in one of these republics, a man was condemned to death, it was rather a kind of war against a common enemy, than an act of justice exercised against a subject. The absence of coercive power; good manners, example, and respect for old men, and parental authority, maintained peace in those societies, that had no laws nor property. Reason, which had not been misled by prejudice, or corrupted by passion, served them instead of moral and political regulations of police. Harmony and security were maintained without the interposition of government. Authority never encroached upon that power which is the instinct of nature, the love of independence, and the enlightenment by reason produces in us the equality.

Hence arises that regard which the savages have for each other. They lavish their expressions of esteem, and expect the same in return. They are obliging, but reserved; they weigh their words, and listen with great attention. Their gravity, which looks like a kind of melancholy, is particularly observable in their national assemblies. Every one speaks in his turn, according to his age, his experience, and his services. No one is ever interrupted, either by indecent reflections or ill-timed applause. Their public affairs are managed with such disinterestedness as is unknown in our governments, where the welfare of the state is hardly ever promoted but from selfish views or party spirit. It is no uncommon thing to hear one of these savage orators, when his speech has met with universal applause, telling those who agreed to his opinion, that another man is more deserving of their confidence.

This mutual respect amongst the inhabitants of the same place prevails between the several nations, when they are not in actual war. The deputies are received and treated with that friendship which is due to men who come to treat of peace and alliance. Wandering nations, who have not the least notion of a domain, never negotiate for a project of conquest, or for any interests relative to dominion. Even those who have a settled home, never quarrel with others for coming to live in their district, provided they do not molest them. The earth, say they, is made for all men; no one must possess the share of two. All the politics, therefore, of the savages consist in forming leagues against an enemy who is too numerous or too strong, and in suspending hostilities that become too destructive. When they are agreed upon a truce or league of amity, it is ratified by mutually exchanging a belt or string of beads, which are a kind of

snail-shells. The white ones are very common; but the purple ones, which are scarcer, and the black, which are still more so, are much esteemed. They work them into a cylindrical form, bore them, and then make them up into branches or necklaces. The branches are about a foot long, and the beads are strung upon them in straight rows. The necklaces are broad belts, on which the beads are placed in rows, and neatly tacked down with little slips of leather. The measure, weight, and colour of the shells, determine the importance of the business. They serve as jewels, as records, and as annals. They are the bond of union between nations and individuals. They are the sacred and inviolable pledge which gives a sanction to words, to promises, and to treaties. The chiefs of towns are the keepers of these records. They know their meaning; they interpret them; and by means of these signs, they transmit the history of the country to their young people.

As the savages possess no riches, they are of a benevolent turn. A striking instance of this appears in the care they take of their orphans, widows, and infirm people. They liberally share their scanty provision with those whose crops have failed, or who have been unsuccessful in hunting or fishing. Their tables and their huts are open night and day to strangers and travellers. This generous hospitality, which makes the advantages of a private man a public blessing, is chiefly conspicuous in their entertainments. A savage claims respect, not so much from what he possesses as from what he gives away. Accordingly the whole provision of a six months chase is often expended in one day, and he who treats enjoys more pleasure than his guests.

None of the writers who have described the manners of the savages have reckoned benevolence a
 amongst

mongst their virtues. But this may be owing to prejudice, which has made them confound antipathy and resentment with natural temper. These people neither love nor esteem the Europeans, nor are they very kind to them. The inequality of conditions, which we think so necessary for the well-being of society, is in their opinion the greatest folly. They are shocked to see, that, amongst us, one man has more property than several others put together; and that this first injustice is productive of a second, which is, that the man who has most riches is on that account the most respected. But what appears to them a meanness below that of the brute creation is, that men who are equal by nature should stoop to depend upon the will or the caprice of another. The respect we show to titles, dignities, and especially to hereditary nobility, they call an insult, an injury to human nature. Whoever knows how to guide a canoe, to beat an enemy, to build a hut, to live upon little, to go a hundred leagues in the woods, with no other guide than the wind and sun, or any provision but a bow and arrows; he is a man, and what more can be expected of him? That restless disposition which prompts us to cross so many seas, to seek a fortune that flies before us, appears to them rather the effect of poverty than of industry. They laugh at our arts, our manners, and all those customs which inspire us with vanity in proportion as they remove us from the state of nature. Their frankness and honesty is roused to indignation at the tricks and cunning which have been practised in our dealings with them. A multitude of other motives, some founded on prejudice, but most on reason, have rendered the Europeans odious to the Indians. They have used reprisals, and are become harsh and cruel in their dealings with us. That aversion and contempt they have conceived for our

morals,

morals, has always made them shun our society. We have never been able to reconcile any of them to the indulgences of our way of life; whereas we have seen some Europeans forego all the conveniences of civil life, go into the forests and take up the bow and the club of the savage. An innate spirit of benevolence, however, sometimes brings them back to us. At the beginning of the winter, a French vessel was wrecked upon the rocks of Anticosti. Such of the sailors as had escaped, in this desert and savage island, the rigour of the season and the dangers of famine, constructed, from the remains of their ship, a bark, which in the spring season conveyed them to the continent. They were observed in a languid and expiring state by a canoe full of savages. "Brethren," said the chief of this solitary family, addressing himself affectionately to them, "the wretched are entitled to our pity and our assistance. We are men, and the misfortunes incident to the human race affect us as much in others as in ourselves." These humane expressions were accompanied with every kind of help these generous savages had in their power to bestow.

One thing was wanting to complete the happiness of the free Americans; they were not passionately fond of their wives. Nature indeed has bestowed on their women a good shape, beautiful eyes, pleasing features, and long black hair. All these accomplishments are no longer regarded than whilst they are in a state of independence. They no sooner submit to the matrimonial yoke, but that even their husband, who is the only man they love, grows insensible to those charms they are so liberal of before marriage. Indeed, they are doomed to a way of life that is not favourable to beauty. Their features alter, and they lose at once the desire and the power of pleasing. They are laborious, indefatigable, and active. They dig the ground,
 sow,

few, and reap; whilst their husbands, who disdain to stoop to the drudgeries of husbandry, amuse themselves with hunting, fishing, shooting with a bow, and exercising the dominion of man over the earth.

Many of these nations allow a plurality of wives; and even those that do not practise polygamy, admit of divorce. The very idea of an indissoluble tie never once entered the thoughts of these people who are free till death. When those who are married disagree, they part by consent, and divide their children between them. Nothing appears to them more repugnant to nature and reason than the contrary system which prevails among Christians. *The great spirit, say they, hath created us all to be happy; and we should offend him were we to live in a perpetual state of constraint and uneasiness.* This system agrees with what one of the Miamis said to one of the missionaries: *My wife and I were continually at variance. My neighbour disagreed equally with his. We have changed wives, and are all satisfied.*

It has been generally said, that the savages are not much addicted to the pleasures of love. But if they are not so fond of women as civilized people are, it is not, perhaps for want of powers or inclination to population. But the first wants of nature may, perhaps, check in them the claims of the second. Their strength is almost all exhausted in procuring their food. Hunting and other expeditions leave them neither the opportunity nor the leisure of attending to population. No wandering nation can ever be populous. What must become of women obliged to follow their husbands to the distance of a hundred leagues, with children at their breast or in their arms! What would become of the children themselves if deprived of the milk that must necessarily dry up in the course of the journey? Hunting, then, prevents the increase of

mankind, and even destroys it it. A savage warrior resists the seducing arts of young women who strive to allure him. When nature compels this tender sex to make the first advances, and to pursue the men that fly them, those who are less inflamed with military ardour, than with the charms of beauty, yield to the temptation. But the true warriors who have been early taught that an intercourse with women enervates strength and courage, do not give way. Canada, therefore, is not a desert from natural defects, but from the track of life which its inhabitants pursue. Though they are as fit for procreation as our northern people, all their strength is employed for their own preservation. Hunger does not allow them to attend to the softer passions. If the people of the south sacrifice every thing to this desire, it is because the first is easily satisfied, in a country where nature is very prolific, and man consumes but little, the overplus of his strength is turned wholly to population, which is likewise assisted by the warmth of the climate. In a climate where men consume more than nature affords them with ease, the time and the faculties of the human species are exhausted in fatigues that are detrimental to population.

But a further proof that the savages are not less inclined to women than we are, is, that they are much sinder of their children. Their mothers suckle them till they are four or five years old, and sometimes to six or seven. From their earliest infancy, their parents respect their natural independence, and never beat or chide them, because they will not check that free and martial spirit which is one day to constitute their principal character. They even forbear to make use of strong arguments to persuade them, because this would be in some measure a restraint laid upon their free will. As they are taught nothing but what they

they want to know, they are the happiest children upon earth. If they die, the parents lament them with deep regret. The father and mother will sometimes go six months after, and weep over the grave of their child, and the mother will sprinkle it with her own milk.

The ties of friendship amongst the savages are almost as strong as those of nature, and more lasting. These are never broken by that variety of clashing interests, which, in our societies, weaken even the tenderest and most sacred connections. There the heart of one man chuses another, in which he deposits his inmost thoughts, his sentiments, his projects, his sorrows, and his joys. Every thing becomes common between two friends. Their union is for life: they fight side by side; and if one falls, the other constantly dies upon his friend's body. If they are separated in some imminent danger, each calls upon the name of his friend; each invokes his spirit, this is his tutelary deity.

The savages shew a degree of penetration and sagacity, which astonishes every one who has not observed how much our arts and methods of life contribute to render our minds slow and inactive; because we are seldom put to the trouble of thinking, and have only to learn what is already discovered. If they have brought nothing to perfection any more than the most sagacious animals, it is, probably, because these people, having no ideas, but such as relate to the present wants, the equality that subsists between them lays every individual under a necessity of thinking for himself, and of spending his whole life in acquiring this occasional learning: hence it may be reasonably inferred, that the sum total of ideas in a society of savages is no more than the sum of ideas of each individual.

Instead

Instead of abstruse meditations, the savages delight in songs. They are said to have no variety in their singing; but we are uncertain whether those that have heard them had an ear properly adapted to their music. When we first hear a foreign language, the words seem all the same, we think it is all pronounced with the same tone, without any modulation or prosody. It is only by continued habit that we learn to distinguish the words and syllables, and to perceive that some are dull and others sharp, some long and others short. The same may be equally true with regard to the melody of a people, whose song must bear some analogy to their speech.

Their dances are generally an image of war, and they usually dance completely armed, they are so exact, quick, and dreadful, that an European, when first he sees them, cannot help being struck with horror. He imagines that the ground will in a moment be covered with blood and scattered limbs, and that none of the dancers or the spectators will remain. It is somewhat remarkable, that in the first ages of the world, and amongst savage nations, dancing should be an imitative art; and that it should have lost that characteristic in civilized countries, where it seems to be reduced to a set of steps without meaning. But it is with dances as with languages, they grow abstracted like the ideas they are intended to represent. The signs of them are more allegorical, as the minds of the people become more refined. In the same manner as a single word, in a learned language, expresses several ideas; so, in an allegorical dance, a single step, a single attitude is sufficient to excite a variety of sensations. It is owing to want of imagination either in the dancers, or the spectators, if a figured dance is not, or does not appear to be, expressive. Besides, the savages can exhibit none but strong passions and fierce

manners ; and these must be represented by more significant images in their dances, which are the language of gesture, the first and simplest of all languages. Nations living in a state of civil society, and in peace, have only the gentler passions to represent ; which are best expressed by delicate images, fit to convey refined ideas. It might not, however be improper sometimes to bring back dancing to its first origin, to exhibit the old simplicity of manners, to revive the first sensations of nature by motions which represent them, and to depart from that antiquated and scientific mode of the Greeks and Romans, and adopt the lively and significant images of the rude Canadians.

These savages, always wholly taken up with the present passion, are extravagantly fond of gaming, as is usual with all idle people, and especially of games of chance. These men, who are commonly so sedate, so moderate, so disinterested, and have such a command of themselves, are outrageous, greedy, and turbulent at play : they lose their peace, their senses, and all they are worth. Destitute of almost every thing, coveting all they see, and, when they like it, eager to have and enjoy it, they give themselves up entirely to the quickest and easiest means of acquiring it. This is a consequence of their manners, as well as of their character. The sight of present happiness always blinds them as to the evils that may ensue. Their forecast does not even reach from day to night. They are alternately silly children and terrible men. All depends with them on the present moment.

Gaming alone would incline them to superstition, even if they had not a natural propensity to that bane of the happiness of mankind. But as they have few physicians or quacks to have recourse to, they suffer less from this malady than more polished nations, and are more open to the voice of reason. The Iroquois
have

have a confused notion of a First Being who governs the world. They never grieve at the evil which this being permits. When some mischance befalls them, they say, *The man above would have it so*; and there is, perhaps, more philosophy in this submission than in all the reasonings and declamations of our philosophers. Most other savage nations worship those two first principles, which occur to the human mind as soon as it had acquired any conception of invisible substances. Sometimes they worship a river, a forest the sun or the moon; in short, any beings in which they have observed a certain power and motion; because wherever they see motion, which they cannot account for, there they suppose a soul.

They seem to have some notion of a future state; but as they have no principles of morality, they do not think that the next life is a state of reward for virtue and punishment for vice. Their opinion of it consists in believing, the indefatigable huntsman, and the fearless and merciless warrior, the man who has slain or burnt many enemies, and made his own town victorious, will after death go into a country where he will find plenty of all kinds of animals to assuage his hunger; whereas those who are grown old in indolence and without glory, will be for ever banished into a barren land, where they will be eternally tormented with famine and sickness. Their tenets are suited to their manners and their wants. They believe in such pleasures and such sufferings as they are acquainted with. They have more hopes than fears, and are happy even in their delusions. Yet they are often tormented with dreams.

Ignorance is prone to look for something mysterious in dreams, and to ascribe them to the agency of some powerful being, who takes the opportunity, when our *faculties* are suspended and lulled asleep, of watching

over us in the absence of our senses. It is as it were a soul, distinct from our own, that glides into us, to inform us of what is to come, when we cannot yet see it; whereas futurity is always present to that Being who created it.

In the sharp climates of Canada, where the people live by hunting, their nerves are apt to be overstrained by the inclemency of the weather, and by fatigue and long abstinence. When those savages have melancholy and troublesome dreams, they fancy they are surrounded with enemies; they see their town surprised, and swimming in blood; they receive injuries and wounds; their wives, their children, their friends, are carried off. When they awake, they take these visions for a warning from the gods; and that fear which first inspired them with this notion, makes them look more fierce and gloomy. The old women, who are useless in the world, dream for the safety of the commonwealth. Some weak old men, too, dream on public affairs, in which they have no share or influence. Young men who are unfit for war or laborious exercises, will dream too, that they may bear some part in the administration of the clan. In vain hath it been attempted, during two centuries, to dispel illusions so deeply rooted. *You Christians, have always answered the savages, you laugh at the faith we have in dreams, and yet require us to believe things infinitely more improbable.* Thus we see in these untutored nations the seeds of priestcraft with all its train of evils.

Were it not for these melancholy fits and dreams, there would scarce ever be any contentions amongst them. Europeans who have lived long in these countries, assure us they never saw an Indian in a passion. Without superstition, there would be as few national as private quarrels.

Private

Private differences are most commonly adjusted by the bulk of the people. The respect shewn by the nation to the aggrieved party, soothes his self-love, and disposes him to peace. It is more difficult to prevent quarrels, or put an end to hostilities, between two nations.

War often takes its rise from hunting. When two companies which were separated by a forest a hundred leagues in extent, happen to meet, and to interfere with each other's sport they soon quarrel, and turn those weapons against one another, which were intended for the destruction of bears. This slight skirmish is a seed of eternal discord. The vanquished party swears implacable vengeance against the conquerors, a national hatred which will live in their posterity, and revive out of their ashes. These quarrels, however, are sometimes stifled in the wounds of both parties, when on each side there happen to be only some fiery youths, who are desirous of trying their skill, and whose impatience has hurried them too far. But the rage of whole nations is not easily kindled.

When there is a cause for war, it is not left to the judgment and decision of one man. The nation meets, and the chief speaks. He states the grievances. The matter is considered, the dangers and the consequences of a rupture are carefully balanced. The speakers enter directly on the subject, without stopping, without digression, or mistaking the case. The several interests are discussed with a strength of reasoning and eloquence that arises from the evidence and simplicity of the objects; and even with an impartiality that is less biased by their strong passions, than it is with us by a complication of ideas. If they unanimously decide for war by an universal shout, the allies are invited to join them, which they seldom refuse, as they al-

ways have some injury to revenge, or some dead to replace by prisoners.

They next proceed to the election of a chief, or captain of the expedition; and great stress is laid upon physiognomy. This might be a fallacious and even ridiculous way of judging of men, where they have been trained up from their infancy to disguise their real sentiments, and where by a constant practice of dissimulation and factitious passions, the countenance is no longer expressive of the mind. But a savage, who is solely guided by nature, and is acquainted with its workings, is seldom mistaken in the judgement he forms at first sight. The chief requisite, next to a warlike aspect, is a strong voice; because in armies that march without drums or clarions, the better to surprise the enemy, nothing is so proper to sound an alarm, or to give the signal for the onset, as the terrible voice of a chief who shouts and strikes at the same time. But the best recommendations for a general, are his exploits. Every one is at liberty to boast of his victories, in order to march foremost to meet danger; to tell what he has done, in order to shew what he will do; and the savages think self-commendation not unbecoming a hero who can shew his scars.

He that is to head the rest in the road to victory, never fails to harangue them. "Comrades, (says he) "the bones of our brethren are still uncovered. They "cry out against us; we must satisfy them. Young "men, to arms; fill your quivers; paint yourselves "with gloomy colours that may strike terror. Let "the woods ring with our warlike songs. Let us "soothe the dead with the shouts of vengeance. Let "us go and bathe in the blood of our enemies, take "prisoners, and fight as long as water shall flow in

“ the rivers, and as long as the sun and moon shall remain fixed in the firmament.”

At these words, the brave men who long to encounter the hazards of war, go to the chief, and say, *I will risk with thee. So you shall,* replies the chief, *we will risk together.* But as no one has been solicited, lest a false point of honour should induce cowards to march, a man must undergo many trials before he can be admitted as a soldier. If a young man, who has never yet faced the enemy, should betray the least impatience, when, after long abstinence, he is exposed to the scorching heat of the sun, the intense frosts of the night, or the bloody stings of insects, he would be declared incapable and unworthy to bear arms. Are our militias and armies formed in this manner? On the contrary, what a mournful and ominous ceremony is ours! Men who have not been able to save themselves, by flight, from being pressed into the service, or could not procure an exemption by purchase or by claiming some privilege, drag themselves heavily along, with downcast looks, and pale dejected faces, before a delegate, whose functions are odious to the people, and whose honesty is doubtful. The afflicted and trembling parents seem to be following their son to the grave. A black scroll, issuing from a fatal urn, points out the victims which the prince devotes to war. A distracted mother in vain presses her son to her bosom, and strives to detain him; he is torn from her arms, and she bids him farewell for ever, cursing the day of her marriage and that of her delivery. It is not, surely, thus that good soldiers are to be formed. It is not in this mournful way, and with such consternation, that the savages meet victory. They march out in the midst of festivity, singing, and dancing. The young married women follow their husbands for a day or two, but without show-

showing any signs of grief or sorrow. These women, who never once cry out in the pangs of child-birth, would scorn to soften the minds of the defenders and avengers of their country, by their tears, or even by their endearments.

Their weapons are a kind of spear armed with sharp bones, and a small club of very hard wood, with one cutting edge. Instead of this last, since their acquaintance with the Europeans, they make use of a hatchet, which they handle with amazing dexterity. Most of them have no instrument of defence; but if they chance to attack the pales that surround a town, they cover their body with a thick plank. Some used to wear a kind of cuirass made with plaited reeds; but they left it off, when they saw it was not proof against fire-arms.

The army is followed by dreamers, who assume the name of jugglers, and are too often suffered to determine the military operations. They march without any colours. All the warriors who fight are almost naked to be the more alert, daub their bodies with coals, to appear more terrible, or else with mould, to conceal themselves at a distance, and the better to surprise the enemy. Notwithstanding their natural intrepidity, and aversion for all disguise, their wars degenerate into artifice. These deceitful arts, common to all nations whether savage or civilized, are become necessary to the petty nations of Canada. They would have totally destroyed one another, had they not made the glory of their chiefs to consist in bringing home all their companions, rather than in shedding the blood of their foes. Honour, therefore, is to be gained by falling upon the enemy before he is aware. These people, whose senses have never been impaired, are extremely quick-scented, and can discover the places where men have trod. By the keenness of their

their sight or smell, it is said they can trace footsteps upon the shortest grass, upon the dry ground, and even upon stone; and from the nature of the footsteps, can find out what nation they belong to. Perhaps they may discover this by the leaves with which the forests always strew the ground.

When they are so fortunate as to surprize the enemy, they discharge a whole volley of arrows, and fall upon him with their clubs or hatchets in their hands. If he is upon his guard, or too well intrenched, they retreat if they can; if not, they must fight till they conquer or die. The victorious party dispatch the wounded men whom they could not carry away, scalp the dead, and take some prisoners.

The conqueror leaves his hatchet upon the field of battle, having previously engraved upon it the mark of his nation, that of his family, and especially his own picture; that is to say, an oval with the figures marked on his own face. Others paint all these ensigns of honour, or rather trophies of victory, on the stump of a tree, or on a piece of the bark, with coal mixed up with several colours. To this they add the history, not only of the battle, but of the whole campaign, in hieroglyphic characters. Immediately after the general's picture, are those of his soldiers, marked by so many lines; the number of prisoners pointed out by so many little images, and that of the dead by so many human figures without heads. Such are the expressive and technical signs which, in all original societies, have preceded the art of writing and printing, and the voluminous libraries which fill the palaces of the rich and idle, and encumber the heads of the learned.

The history of an Indian war is but a short one; they make haste to set it down, for fear the enemy should turn back and fall upon them. The conqueror

for glories in a precipitate retreat, and never stops till he reaches his own territory and his own town. There he is received with the warmest transports of joy, and finds his reward in the applauses of his countrymen. They then consider how they shall dispose of the prisoners, who are the only fruit of their victory.

The most fortunate of the captives are those who are chosen to replace the warriors who fell in the late action or in the former battles. This adoption has been wisely contrived, to perpetuate nations which would soon be destroyed by frequent wars. The prisoners, being once incorporated into a family, become cousins, uncles, fathers, brothers, husbands: in short, they succeed to any degree of consanguinity in which the deceased stood whose place they supply; and these affectionate titles convey all their rights to them, at the same time that they bind them to all their engagements. Far from declining the attachments which are due to the family that has adopted them, they will not refuse even to take up arms against their own countrymen. Yet this is surely a strange inversion of the ties of nature. They must be very weak-minded men, thus to shift the object of their regard with the vicissitudes of fortune. The truth is, that war seems to cancel all the bonds of nature, and to confine a man's feelings to himself alone. Hence arises that union between friends observable among the savages, stronger than those that subsist between relations. Those who are to fight and die together, are more firmly attached than those who are born together or under the same roof. When war or death has dissolved that kindred which is cemented by nature or has been formed by choice, the same fate which loads the savage with chains gives him new relations and friends. Custom and common consent have intro-

duced this singular law, which undoubtedly sprang from necessity.

But it sometimes happens, that a prisoner refuses this adoption; sometimes, that he is excluded from it. A tall handsome prisoner had lost several of his fingers in battle. This circumstance was not noticed at first. "Friend," said the widow to whom he was allotted, "we had chosen thee to live with us; but in the condition I see thee, unable to fight and defend us, of what use is life to thee? Death is certainly preferable. I believe it is," answered the savage. "Well then," replied the woman, "this evening thou shalt be tied to the stake. For thy own glory, and for the honour of our family who have adopted thee, remember to behave as a man of courage. He promised he would, and kept his word. For three days he endured the most cruel torments with a constancy and cheerfulness that set them all at defiance. His new family never forsook him; but encouraged him by their applause, and supplied him with drink and tobacco in the midst of his sufferings. What mixture of virtue and ferocity! every thing is great in these people who are not enslaved. This is the sublime of nature in all its horrors and its beauties.

The captives whom none chuse to adopt, are soon condemned to death. The victims are prepared for it by every thing that may tend to inspire them with a regret for life. The best fare, the kindest usage, the most endearing names, are lavished upon them. They are even sometimes indulged with women to the very moment of their sentence. Is this compassion, or is it a refinement of barbarity? At last a herald comes, and acquaints the wretch that the pile is ready. *Brother, says he, be patient, thou art going to be burnt. Very well, brother, says the prisoner, I thank thee.*

These

These words are received with general applause; but the women are most eager in the common joy. She to whom the prisoner is delivered up, instantly invokes the shade of a father, a husband, a son, the dearest friend whose death is still unrevenged. "Draw near," she cries, "I am preparing a feast for thee. Come and drink large draughts of the broth I intend to give thee. This warrior is going to be put into the cauldron. They will apply hot hatchets all over his body: They will pull off his hair: they will drink out of his skull: Thou shalt be avenged and satisfied."

This furious woman then rushes upon her victim, who is tied to a post near the fiery pile; and by striking or maiming him, she gives a signal for the intended cruelties. There is not a woman or a child in the clan whom this fight has brought together who does not take a part in torturing and slaying of the miserable captive. Some pierce his flesh with firebrands, others cut it in slices; some tear off his nails, whilst others cut off his fingers, roast them, and devour them before his face. Nothing stops his executioners but the fear of hastening his end: they study to prolong his sufferings for whole days, and sometimes they make him linger for a whole week.

In the midst of these torments, the hero with great composure sings his death-song; insults his enemies, upbraids them for their weakness, tells them they know not how to revenge the death of their relations whom he has slain, and excites them by outrages or intreaties to a further exertion of their cruelties. It is a conflict between the victim and his tormentors, a dreadful challenge between constancy in suffering and obstinacy in tormenting. But the sense of glory predominates. Whether this intoxication of enthusiasm suspends or wholly benumbs all sense of pain, or wheth-

er custom and education alone produce these prodigies of heroism, certain it is, that the patient dies without ever shedding a tear or heaving a sigh.

How shall we account for this insensibility? Is it owing to the climate, or to their manner of life? No doubt, colder blood, thicker humours, a constitution rendered more phlegmatic by the dampness of the air and the ground, may blunt the irritability of the nervous system in Canada. Men who are constantly exposed to all the inclemencies of the weather, the fatigues of hunting, and the perils of war, contract such a rigidity of the fibres, such a habit of suffering, as makes them insensible to pain. It is said the savages are scarce ever convulsed in the agonies of death, whether they die of sickness or of a wound. As they have no apprehensions either of the approaches or the consequences of death, their imagination does not suggest that artificial insensibility which mere nature will inspire. Their whole life, both natural and moral, is calculated to inspire them with a contempt for death which we so much dread; and to enable them to overcome the sense of pain which is irritated by our indulgences.

But what is still more astonishing in the Indians than their intrepidity in torments, is the ferociousness of their revenge. It is dreadful to think that man becomes the most cruel of all animals. In general, revenge is not atrocious either among nations or between individuals who are governed by good laws; because those very laws which protect the subjects, keep them from offending. Vengeance is not a very quick sentiment in the wars of great nations, because they have but little to fear from their enemies. But in those petty nations, where every individual constitutes a great part of the state himself, where the carrying off of one man *endangers the whole community*, war can be nothing else

else but the spirit of revenge that actuates the whole state : amongst independent men who have that self-esteem which can never be felt by men who are under subjection, amongst savages whose affections are very lively and confined, injuries must necessarily be resented to the greatest degree, because they affect the person in the most sensible manner : the assassination of a friend, of a son, of a brother, or of a fellow-citizen, cannot but be avenged to the last drop of the murderer's blood. These ever beloved shades are continually calling out for vengeance from their graves. They wander about in the forests, amidst the mournful accents of the birds of night ; they appear in the phosphorus and in the lightning ; and superstition speaks of them in the afflicted or incensed hearts of their friends.

When we consider the hatred which the hordes of these savages bear to each other ; the hardships they undergo ; the scarcity they are often exposed to ; the frequency of their wars ; the scantiness of their population ; the numberless snares we lay for them ; we cannot but foresee, that, in less than three centuries, the whole race will be extinct. What will posterity then think of this species of men, who will exist no more but in the accounts of travellers ? Will not the times of savages appear to them in the same light as the fabulous times of antiquity do to us ? They will speak of them, as we do of the Centaurs and Lapithæ. How many contradictions shall we not discover in their customs and manners ? Will not such of our writings as may then have escaped the destructive hand of time, pass for romantic inventions, like those which Plato has left us concerning the ancient Atlantica ?

C H A P II.

Wars of the INDIANS. The Colonists embroil themselves therein.

THE character of the North Americans, such as we have described it, had singularly displayed itself in the war between the Iroquois and the Algonquins. These two nations, the largest in Canada, had formed a kind of confederacy. The former, who tilled the ground, imparted their productions to their allies; who, in return, shared with them the produce of their chase. Connected as they both were by their reciprocal wants, they mutually defended each other. During the season, when the snow interrupted all the labours of the field, they lived together. The Algonquins went out a hunting; and the Iroquois staid at home to skin the beasts, cure the flesh, and dress the hides.

It happened one year, that a party of Algonquins, who were not very skilful or well versed in the chase, proved unsuccessful. The Iroquois who attended them desired leave to try whether they should be more fortunate. This complaisance, which had sometimes been shewn them, was denied. Irritated at this unseasonable refusal, they stole away in the night, and brought home a plentiful capture. The Algonquins were greatly mortified; and to blot out the very remembrance of their disgrace, they waited till the Iroquois huntsmen were asleep, and slew them all. This massacre occasioned a great alarm. The offended nation demanded justice, which was haughtily refused; and they were given to understand that they must not expect even the smallest satisfaction.

The

The Iroquois, enraged at this contemptuous treatment, swore to be revenged, or perish in the attempt. But not being powerful enough to venture an attack upon the proud offenders, they removed to a greater distance in order to try their strength and improve themselves in the art of war against some less formidable nations. As soon as they had learnt to come on like foxes, to attack like lions, and to fly like birds, as they express themselves, they were no longer afraid to encounter the Algonquins; and, therefore, carried on a war against them with a degree of ferociousness proportionable to their resentment.

It was just at the time when these animosities were kindled throughout Canada, that the French made their first appearance there. The Montagnez, who inhabited the lower parts of the river St Lawrence; the Algonquins, who lived along the banks of that river, from Quebec to Montreal; the Hurons who were dispersed about the lake that bears that name; and some less considerable nations, who wandered about in the intermediate spaces; were all of them inclined to favour the settlement of the strangers. These several nations combined against the Iroquois; but, unable to withstand them, imagined that they might find in their new guests an unexpected resource, from which they promised themselves infallible success. Judging of the French as if they had known them, they flattered themselves they might engage them in their quarrel and were not disappointed. Champlain, the leader of the first colony, and the founder of Quebec, who ought to have availed himself of the superiority of knowledge the Europeans had over the Americans to endeavour to bring about a reconciliation, did not even attempt it. He warmly espoused the interests of his neighbours, and accompanied them in quest of their enemy.

The country of the Iroquois extended near eighty leagues in length, and somewhat more than forty in breadth. Its boundaries were, the lake Eric, the lake Ontario, the river St Lawrence, and the famous countries since known by the names of New-York and Pennsylvania. The space between these vast limits was watered by several fine rivers. It was inhabited by five nations, which could bring about twenty thousand warriors into the field; though they are now reduced to less than fifteen hundred. They formed a kind of league or association, not unlike that of the Switzers or the Dutch. Their deputies met once a-year, to hold their feast of union, and to deliberate on the interests of the commonwealth.

Though the Iroquois did not expect to be again attacked by enemies who had so often been conquered, yet they were not unprepared. The engagement was begun with equal confidence on both sides; one party relying on their usual superiority, the other on the assistance of their new ally, whose fire-arms could not fail of insuring the victory. And, indeed, no sooner had Champlain and two Frenchmen who attended him fired a shot, which killed two chiefs of the Iroquois, and mortally wounded a third, than the whole army fled in the utmost amazement and consternation.

An alteration in the mode of attack induced them to think of changing their mode of defence. In the next campaign, they imagined it would be necessary to intrench themselves against weapons they were unacquainted with. But their precaution was ineffectual. Notwithstanding an obstinate resistance, their intrenchments were forced by the Indians, supported by a brisker fire and a greater number of Frenchmen than in the first expedition. The Iroquois were almost

most all killed or taken. Those who had escaped the action were precipitated into a river and drowned.

It is most probable that this nation would have been destroyed, or compelled to live in peace, had not the Dutch, who in 1610 had founded the colony of new Belgia in their neighbourhood, furnished them with arms and ammunition. Possibly, too, they might secretly excite their divisions; because the furs taken from the enemy, during the continuance of hostilities were a greater object than those they could procure from their own chase. However this may be, this additional weight restored the balance of strength between both parties. Various hostilities and injuries were committed by each nation, and they were both in consequence of them considerably weakened. This perpetual ebb and flow of success or misfortunes, which, in governments actuated by motives of interest rather than of revenge, would infallibly have restored tranquility, served but to increase their animosities and to exasperate a number of little clans, resolved upon destroying one another. The consequence was, that the weakest of these petty nations were soon destroyed and the rest were gradually reduced to nothing.

C H A P III.

Of the F U R S.

BEFORE the discovery of Canada, the forests with which it was over-run were little more than the extensive haunt of wild beasts. They had multiplied prodigiously, because the few men who lived in those desarts without flocks or tame animals, left more room and more food for the animal race, wandering and free like themselves. If the nature of the climate did

not afford an infinite variety, each species produced at least a multitude of individuals. But they at last paid tribute to the sovereignty of man, that cruel title so fatal to every living creature. Having neither arts, nor husbandry to employ them, the savages fed and clothed themselves wholly at the expence of the wild beasts. As soon as our luxury had made us adopt the use of their skins, the natives waged a perpetual war against them; which was the more active, as it procured them plenty, and a variety of gratifications which their senses were unaccustomed to; and the more fatal, as they had adopted the use of our fire-arms. This destructive industry brought over from the woods of Canada into the ports of France a great quantity and prodigious variety of furs, some of which were consumed in the kingdom, and the rest were disposed of in the neighbouring countries. Most of these furs were already known in Europe; they came from the northern parts of our own hemisphere, but in too small quantities to bring them into general use. Caprice and novelty have brought them more or less into fashion, since it has been found to be for the interest of the American colonies that they should be admired in the mother countries. It may not be improper to say something of those that are still in use.

1 The OTTER is a voracious animal, which, as it runs or swims along the banks of lakes or rivers, commonly lives upon fish; and when that fails, will feed upon grass, and even the rind of aquatic plants. From his manner of living he has been ranked amongst amphibious animals, who can equally live in the air and under water; but improperly, since the otter cannot live without respiration, any more than all other land animals. It is sometimes found in all those parts which abound in water, and are temperate;

fate; but is much more common and larger in the northern parts of America. His hair is no where so black or so fine; a circumstance the more fatal to him, as it exposes him more particularly to the pursuits of man.

2. The POLE-CAT is in great request on the same account. There are three sorts of them: the first is the common pole-cat; the second is called the mink; and the third the stinking pole-cat, because his urine, which he lets fly in his fright when he is pursued, is so offensive that it infects the air at a great distance. Their hair is darker, more glossy, and more silky, than in Europe.

3. Even the RAT in North-America is valuable for his skin. There are two sorts chiefly whose skin makes an article of trade. The one, which is called the *Opoffum*, is twice as large as ours. His hair is commonly of a silver grey, sometimes of a clear white. The female has a bag under her belly, which she can open and shut at pleasure: when she is pursued, she puts her young ones into this bag, and runs away with them. The other, which is called the *Musk-rat*, because his testicles contain musk, has all the inclinations of the beaver, of which he seems to be a diminutive, and his skin is employed for the same purposes.

4. The ERMINE, which is about the size of a squirrel, but not quite so long, has, like him, sprightly eyes, a keen look, and his motions are so quick that the eye cannot follow them. The tip of his long and bushy tail is as black as jet. His hair, which is as yellow as gold in summer, turns as white as snow in winter. This pretty, brisk, and light animal is one of the beauties of Canada; but though smaller than the Sable, is not so common.

5. The MARTIN is only to be met with in cold countries, in the centre of the forests, far from all
habitation.

habitations, and lives upon birds. Though it is but a foot and a half long, it leaves prints on the snow, that appear to be those of a very large animal; because it always jumps along, and leaves the mark of both feet together. Its brown and yellow fur is much esteemed, though far inferior to that species which is distinguished by the name of the *Sable*. This is a shining black. The finest of the others is that whose brownest skin reaches along the back quite to the tip of the tail. The Martins seldom quit the inmost recesses of their impenetrable woods, but once in two or three years. The natives think it portends a good winter; that is, a great deal of snow, and consequently good sport.

6. The animal which the ancients called *Lynx*, known in Siberia by the name of the *Ounce*, is only called the **WILD CAT** in Canada, where it is smaller than in our hemisphere. This animal, to whom vulgar error would not have attributed very piercing eyes, if he were not endowed with the faculty of seeing, hearing, and smelling, at a distance, lives upon what game he can catch, which he pursues to the very tops of the tallest trees. His flesh is known to be very white and well flavoured; but he is hunted chiefly for the sake of his skin: the hair of which is very long, and of a fine light grey; but less esteemed than that of

7. The **Fox**. This carnivorous and mischievous animal is a native of the frozen climates, where nature affording few vegetables seems to oblige all animals to eat one another. In warmer climates, he has lost much of his original beauty, and his hair has degenerated. In the north it has remained long, soft, and full, sometimes white, sometimes brown, and often red or sandy. The finest by far is black; but
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SETTLEMENTS IN AMERICA. 205

this is more scarce in Canada than in Muscovy, which lies further north, and is not so damp.

8 Besides these smaller furs, North America supplies us with skins of the *Stag*, the *Deer*, and the *Koe-buck*; of the *Mooze deer*, called there **CARIBOU**; and of the *Elk*, which they call **ORIGINAL**. These two last kinds, which in our hemisphere are only found towards the polar circle, the elk on this side, and the mooze-deer beyond, are to be met with in America in more southern latitudes. This may be owing to the cold being more intense in America, from singular causes which make an exception to the general law, or, possibly, because these fresh lands are less frequented by destructive man. Their strong, soft, and warm skins make excellent garments, which are very light. All these animals, however, are hunted for the Europeans; but the savages have the chase that belongs to them, and is peculiarly their favourite. It is that of

9. The **BEAR**; which is best adapted to their warlike manners, their strength, and their bravery, and especially to their wants.

In a cold and severe climate, the bear is most commonly black. As he is rather shy than fierce, instead of a cavern, he chuses for his lurking place the hollow rotten trunk of an old tree. There he takes his lodgement in winter, as high as he can climb. As he is very fat the end of autumn, takes no exercise, and is almost always asleep, he must lose but little by perspiration, and consequently must seldom want to go abroad in quest of food. But he is forced out of his retreat by setting fire to it; and as soon as he attempts to come down, he falls under a shower of arrows before he can reach the ground. The Indians feed upon his flesh, rub themselves with his grease, and clothe themselves with his skin. Such was the intent of their

pursuit after the bear, when a new interest directed their instinct towards

10. The BEAVER. This animal possesses all the friendly dispositions fit for society, without any of the vices or misfortunes attendant upon it. Formed by nature for social life, he is endued with an instinct adapted to it for the preservation and propagation of his species. This animal, whose tender plaintive accents, and whose striking example, draw tears of admiration and pity from the humane philosopher who contemplates his life and manners; this harmless animal, which never hurts any living creature, and is neither carnivorous nor sanguinary; is become the object of man's most earnest pursuit, and the prey which the savages hunt after with the greatest eagerness and cruelty: a circumstance owing to the unmerciful rapaciousness of the most polished nations in Europe.

The beaver is about three or four feet long; but his weight amounts to forty or sixty pounds, which is the consequence of the largeness of his muscles. His head, which he carries downwards, is like that of a rat; and his back, raised in an arch above it, like that of a mouse. Lucretius has observed, not that man has hands given him to make use of them; but that he had hands given him, and has made use of them. Thus the beaver has webs at his hinder feet, and he swims with them. The toes of his fore-feet are separate, and answer the purpose of hands; the tail, which is flat, oval, and covered with scales, he uses by way of a hoe and trowel; he has four sharp incisor-teeth, which serve him instead of carpenters tools. All these instruments, which are in a manner useless whilst he lives alone, and do not then distinguish him from other animals, are of infinite service when he lives in society,
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and enable him to display a degree of ingenuity superior to all instinct.

Without passions, without a desire of doing injury to any, and without craft, when he does not live in society; he scarcely ventures to defend himself. He never bites, unless he is caught. But in the social state, in lieu of weapons, he has a variety of contrivances to secure himself without fighting, and to live without committing or suffering any injury. This peaceable and even tame animal is nevertheless independent; he is a slave to none, because all his wants are supplied by himself: he enters into society; but will not serve, nor does he pretend to command: and all his labours are directed by a silent instinct.

It is the common want of living and multiplying, that calls the beavers home, and collects them together in summer to build their towns against winter. As early as June or July, they come in from all quarters, and assemble to the number of two or three hundred; but always by the water-side, because these republicans are to live on water to secure themselves from invasion. Sometimes they give the preference to still lakes in unfrequented districts, because there the waters are always at an equal height. When they find no pools of standing water, they make one in the midst of rivers or streams; which they do by means of a causeway or dam. The mere planning of this contrivance implies such a complication of ideas, as our short-sighted reason would be apt to think above any capacity but that of an intelligent being. The first thing to be erected is a pile of an hundred feet long, and twelve feet thick at the basis, which shelves away to two or three feet in a slope answerable to the depth of the waters. To save work, or to facilitate their labour, they chuse the shallowest part of the river. If they find a large tree by the water side, they fell it in
such

such a manner as it may fall across the stream. If it should be larger in circumference than a man's body, they saw it through, or rather gnaw the foot with their four sharp teeth. The branches are soon lopped off by these industrious workmen, who want to fashion it into a beam. A multitude of lesser trees are felled and cut to pieces for the intended pile. Some drag these trees to the river side, other swim over with them to the place where the causeway is to be raised. But the question is, how these animals are to sink them in the water with the assistance only of their teeth, tail, and feet. The following is the manner in which they contrive it. With their nails they dig a hole in the ground, or at the bottom of the water. With their teeth they rest the large end of the stake against the bank of the river, or against the great beam that lies across. With their feet they raise the stake, and sink it with the sharp end downwards into the hole, where it stands upright. With their tails they make mortar, with which they fill up all the vacancies between the stakes, which are bound together with twisted boughs; and thus the pile is constructed. The slope of the dam is opposite to the current, the better to break the force of the water by a gradual resistance; and the stakes are driven in obliquely, in proportion to the inclination of the plane. The stakes are planted perpendicularly on the side where the water is to fall, and in order to open a drain which may lessen the action of the slope and weight of the causeway, they make two or three openings at the top of it, by which part of the waters of the river may run off.

When this work is finished by the whole body of the republic, every member considers of a lodging for himself. Each company builds a hut in the water upon the pile. These huts are from four to ten feet in diameter, upon an oval or round spot. Some are

two or three stories high, according to the number of families or households. Each hut contains at least two or three, and some ten or fifteen. The walls whether high or low, are about two feet thick, and are all arched at the top, and perfectly neat and solid both within and without. The outside is varnished with a kind of stucco, impenetrable both to the water and to the external air. Every apartment has two openings one on the land side, to enable them to go out and fetch provisions; the other on that next the stream, to facilitate their escape at the approach of the enemy that is, of man, the destroyer of cities and commonwealths. The window of the house opens to the water. There they take the fresh air in the day time, plunged into the river up to their middle. In winter it serves to fence them against the ice, which gathers to the thickness of two or three feet. The shelf, which is to prevent its stopping up this window, rests upon two stakes that slope in such a manner as may best carry off the water from the house, and leave an outlet to creep out at, or to go and swim under the ice. The inside of the house has no other furniture than a flooring of grass, covered with the boughs of the fir-tree. No filth of any kind is ever seen in these apartments.

The materials for these buildings are always to be found in their neighbourhood. These are alders, poplars, and other trees delighting in watery places, as these republicans do who build their apartments of them. These citizens have the satisfaction, at the same time they fashion the wood, to nourish themselves with it. In imitation of certain savages of the frozen ocean, they eat the bark. The savages, indeed, do not like it till it is dried, pounded and properly dressed; where, as the beavers chew it and suck it when it is quite green. They lay up a provision of bark and tender twigs in
sepa-

separate storehouses for every hut, proportionable to the number of its inhabitants. Every beaver knows his own storehouse, and not one of them pilfers his neighbour's. Each party lives in its own habitation, and is contented with it, though jealous of the property it has acquired in it by its labour. The provisions of the community are collected and expended without dissensions. They are satisfied with that simple food which their labour prepares for them. The only passion they have is conjugal affection, the basis and end of which is the reproduction of their species. Towards the end of winter, the mothers bring forth their young ones, bred in autumn; and whilst the father ranges all the woods, allured by the sweets of the spring, leaving to his little family the room he took up in his narrow cell, the dam suckles and nurses them, to the number of two or three. Then she takes them out along with her in her excursions, in search of cray and other fish, and green bark, to recruit her own strength and to feed them, till the season of labour returns.

This republican, industrious, intelligent people, skilled in architecture, provident and systematical in its plans of police and society, is the beaver, whose gentle and exemplary manners we have been describing. Happy if his covering did not tempt savage man to destroy his buildings and his race. Frequently when the Americans have demolished the settlements of the beavers, those indefatigable animals have had the resolution to build them up again, for several summers successively, upon the very same spot. The winter is the time for attacking them. Experience warns them of their danger. At the approach of the hunters, one of them strikes a hard stroke with his tail upon the water; this signal spreads a general alarm throughout all the huts of the commonwealth, and every one

tries to save himself under the ice. But it is very difficult to escape the snares that are laid for this harmless tribe.

Sometimes the huntsmen lie in wait for them; but as these animals see and hear at a great distance, they can seldom be shot by the water-side, and they never venture so far from it as to be caught by surprise. Should the beaver be wounded before he has got under water, he has always time enough to plunge in; and if he dies afterwards, he is lost, because he sinks, and never rises again.

A more certain way of catching beavers is, by laying traps in the woods, where they eat tender bark of young trees. These traps are baited with fresh slips of wood; and as soon as the beavers touch them, an enormous weight falls and crushes their loins. The man, who is concealed near the place, hastens to it, seizes his prey, and having dispatched it, carries it off.

Other methods are still more commonly and more successfully practised. The huts are sometimes attacked, in order to drive out the inhabitants, and then wait for them at the edges of the holes they have bored in the ice, where they cannot avoid coming to take in fresh air. The moment they appear, they are knocked on the head. At other times the animal, driven out of his lodgement, is entangled in the nets that are spread all round, by breaking up the ice for some toises round his hut. If they want to catch the whole colony at once, instead of breaking down the sluices to drown the inhabitants, as it might be done in Holland, they open the causeway, to drain off the water from the pool where the beavers live. When they are thus left dry, defenceless, and unable to escape, they may be caught at pleasure, and destroyed at any time: but care is always taken to leave a sufficient number of males and females to preserve the
breed.

breed ; an act of generosity which in reality proceeds only from avarice. The cruel forefight of man only spares a few in order to have the more to destroy. The beaver, whose plaintive cry seems to implore his clemency and pity, finds in the savage, whom the Europeans have made barbarous, only an implacable enemy, who no longer fights so much to supply his own wants, as to furnish superfluities to another world.

If we compare the manners, the police, and the industry, of the beavers with the wandering life of the savages of Canada ; we shall be inclined to allow, admitting for the superiority of man's faculties above those of animals, that the beaver was much further advanced in the arts of social life than his pursuer, when the Europeans first brought their talents and improvements to North-America.

The beaver, an older inhabitant of that world than man, and the quiet possessor of those regions so well adapted to his species, had employed that quiet he had enjoyed for many ages, in the improvement of his faculties. In our hemisphere, man has seized upon the most wholesome and fertile regions, and has driven out or subdued all other animals. If the bee and the ant have preserved their laws and government from the jealous and destructive dominion of tyrant man, this has been owing to the smallness of their size. It is thus we see some republics, having neither splendor nor strength, maintain themselves by their very weakness in the midst of the vast monarchies of Europe, which must sooner or later swallow them up. But the sociable quadrupeds, banished into uninhabited climates unfit for their increase, have been unconnected in all places, incapable of uniting into a community, or of improving their natural sagacity ; whilst man, who has reduced
them

them to that precarious state, exults in their degradation and prides himself in that superior nature and those rational powers which constitute a perpetual distinction between his species and all others.

The brutes, we are told, bring nothing to perfection: their operations, therefore, can only be mechanical, and suppose no principle similar to that which actuates man. Without examining in what particulars perfection consists; whether the most civilized being is in reality the most perfect; whether what he acquires in the property of things, he does not lose in the property of his person; or, whether all he adds to his enjoyments is not so much subtracted from his duration; we cannot but confess, that the beaver, which in Europe is a wandering, solitary, timorous, and stupid animal, was in Canada acquainted with civil and domestic government, knew how to distinguish the proper seasons for labour and rest, was acquainted with some rules of architecture, and with the curious and learned art of constructing dikes. Yet he had attained to this degree of improvement with feeble and imperfect tools. He can hardly see the work he does with his tail. His teeth, which answer the purposes of a variety of tools, are circular, and confined by the lips. Man, on the contrary, with hands fit for every purpose, hath in this single organ, of the touch all the combined powers of strength and dexterity. Is it not to this advantage of organization that he owes the superiority of his species above all others? It is not because his eyes are turned towards heaven, as those of all birds are, that he is the lord of the creation; it is because he is provided with hands that are supple, pliable, industrious, formidable, and weapons of defence, and ever ready to assist him. His hand is his sceptre: it is with that he marks his dominion over the earth, by destroying and ravaging the face of

the globe. The surest sign of the population of mankind is the depopulation of other species. That of beavers gradually decreases and disappears in Canada, since the Europeans have been in request of their skins.

Their skins vary with the climate, both in colour and kind. In the same district, however, where the colonies of civilized beavers are found, there are some that are wild and solitary. These animals, who are said to be turned out of society for their ill behaviour, live in a channel under ground, and have neither lodging nor storehouse. Their coat is dirty, and the hair is worn off of their backs by rubbing against the cave which they dig for their habitation. This slip, which commonly opens into some pond or ditch full of water, sometimes extends above a hundred feet in length, and slopes up gradually to facilitate their escape from inundations when the waters rise. Some of these beavers are so wild as to fly from all communication with their natural element, and to live entirely on land. In this they agree with our otters in Europe. These wild beavers have not such sleek hair as those that live in societies; their furs are answerable to their manners.

Beavers are found in America from the thirtieth to the sixtieth degree of north latitude. There are but few towards the south, but they increase and grow darker as we advance towards the north. In the country of the Illinois, they are yellow and straw-coloured; higher up, they are of a light chestnut; to the north of Canada, of a dark chestnut; and some are even found that are quite black, and these are reckoned the finest. Yet in this climate, the coldest that is inhabited by this species, there are some among the black ones that are quite white; other white speckled with grey, and sometimes with sandy spots on the rump: so much does nature delight in shewing the gradations of warmth and cold, and their various influences

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not only on the figure, but on the very clothing of animals. The value that men set on their lives, depends upon the colour of their skins. Some they neglect to that degree, that they will not even kill them; but this is uncommon.

C H A P. IV.

In what places, and in what manner the Fur-trade was carried on.

THE fur-trade was the first the Europeans carried on in Canada. It was first opened by the French colony at Tadoufac, a port situated thirty leagues below Quebec. About the year 1640, the town of Les Trois Rivieres, at the distance of twenty-five leagues from the capital, and higher up, became a second mart. In process of time all the fur-trade centered in Montreal. The skins were brought thither on canoes made of the bark of trees in the month of June. The number of Indians who resorted to that place increased, as the fame of the French spread further. The account of the reception they had met with, the sight of the things they had received in exchange for their goods, every thing contributed to increase the concourse. Whenever they returned with a fresh supply of furs, they always brought a new nation along with them. Thus a kind of fair was opened, to which the several tribes of that vast continent resorted.

The English grew jealous of this branch of wealth; and the colony they had founded at new York soon found means to divert the stream of this great circulation. As soon as they had secured a subsistence, by bestowing their first attention upon agriculture, they began to think of the fur-trade, which was at first confined to the country of the Iroquois. The five nations
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of that name would not suffer their lands to be traversed in order to give an opportunity of treating with other savage nations who were at constant enmity with them; nor would they allow those nations to come upon their territories to share in competition with them the profits of the trade they had opened with the Europeans. But time having extinguished, or rather suspended, the national hostilities between the Indians, the English spread all over the country, and the savages flocked to them from all quarters. This nation had infinite advantages for obtaining the preference over their rivals the French. Their navigation was easier, and consequently they could afford to undersell them. They were the only manufacturers of the coarse cloths that best suited the savages. The beaver-trade was free among them; whereas, among the French, it was, and ever has been, subject to the tyranny of monopoly.

At this time the French in Canada indulged themselves more freely in a custom which at first had been confined within narrow bounds. Their inclination for frequenting the woods, which was that of the first colonists, had been wisely restrained within the limits of the territory belonging to the colony. Permission was, however, granted every year to twenty-five persons to extend beyond these limits, to trade with the Indians. The superiority which New York was acquiring, was the cause of increasing the number of these permissions. They were a kind of patent, which the patentees might make use of either in person or by proxy, and which lasted a year or more. They were sold; and the produce was distributed by the governor of the colony to the officers or their widows and children, to hospitals and missionaries, to such as had distinguished themselves by some great action or some useful undertaking, and sometimes even to the creatures of the governor who sold the patents him-
self.

self. The money which he did not give away, or did not chuse to keep, was put into the public coffers; but he was accountable to none for his administration.

This custom was attended with fatal consequences. Many of these traders settled among the Indians, to defraud their partners whose goods they had disposed of. Many more went and settled among the English, where the profits were greater. Several of the French were lost upon immense lakes, frequently agitated by violent storms; among the cascades, which render navigation so dangerous up the broadest rivers in the whole world; under the weight of the canoes, the provisions, and the bales of goods, which they were forced to carry upon their shoulders at the *carrying places*, where the rapidity or shallowness of the water obliged them to quit the rivers, and pursue their journey by land. Numbers perished in the snow and on the ice, by hunger, or by the sword of the enemy: Those who returned to the colony with a profit of six or seven hundred *per cent.* were not always the more useful members, as they gave themselves up to the greatest excesses, and by their example disgusted others from assiduous labours. Their fortunes disappeared as quickly as they had been amassed, like those moving mountains which a whirlwind raises and destroys at once on the sandy plains of Africa. Most of these travelling traders, spent with the excessive fatigues which their avarice prompted them to undergo, and the licentiousness of a wandering and dissolute life, dragged on a premature old age in indigence and infamy. The government took notice of these irregularities, and put the fur-trade upon a better footing.

France had for a long time been incessantly employed in erecting a number of forts, which were thought necessary for her preservation and aggrandizement in

North America. Those they had built to the west and south of the river St Lawrence, were large and strong and were intended to confine the ambition of the English. Those which were constructed on the several lakes in the most important positions, formed a chain which extended northward to the distance of a thousand leagues from Quebec; but they were only miserable palisadoes, intended to keep the Indians in awe, and to secure their alliance and the produce of their chase. There was a garrison in each, more or less numerous according to the importance of the post and of the enemies who threatened it. It was thought proper to intrust the commandment of each of these forts, with the exclusive right of buying and selling in the whole district under his dominion. This privilege was purchased; but as it was always productive of profit, and sometimes of a considerable fortune, it was granted to none but such officers as were most in favour. If any of these had not a stock sufficient for the undertaking, he could easily get some monied men to join with him. It was pretended, that this system, far from being contrary to the benefit of the service, was a means of promoting it; as it obliged the gentlemen of the army to keep up more constant connections with the natives, to watch their motions; and to neglect nothing that could secure their friendship. Nobody foresaw, or chose to foresee, that this could not fail of stifling every sentiment but that of self interest, and would be a source of perpetual oppression.

This tyranny, which soon became universal, was severely felt at Frontenac, at Niagara, and at Toronto. The farmers of those three forts, abusing their privilege, set so low a value upon the goods that were brought them, and rated their own so high, that by degrees the Indians would not stop there. They
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went in vast numbers to Chouaguen, on the lake Ontario, where the English dealt with them upon more advantageous terms. These new connections were represented as alarming to the court of France, who found means to weaken them by taking the trade of these three posts into her own hands, and treating the Indians still better than they were treated by the rival nation.

The consequence was, that the king acquired the sole possession of all the refuse of the furs; and got the skins of all the beasts that were killed in the summer and autumn, the most ordinary, the thinnest, and most easily spoiled, were reserved for the king. All these damaged furs, unfairly bought, and carelessly heaped up in warehouses, were eaten up by the moths. At the proper season for sending them to Quebec, they were put into boats, and left to the discretion of soldiers, passengers, and watermen, who, as they had no concern in those goods, did not take the least care to keep them dry. When they came into the hands of the managers of the colony, they were sold for half of the little they were worth. Thus the returns were rather less than the sums advanced by the government for this losing trade.

But though this trade was of no value to the king, it may yet be doubted whether it brought any profit to the Indians, though gold and silver were not the dangerous medium of their traffic. They received, indeed, in exchange for their furs, saws, knives, hatchets, kettles, fish-hooks, needles, thread, ordinary linen, coarse woollen stuffs, the first tokens or bands of sociability. But we sold them articles likewise that would have proved prejudicial to them even as a gift or a present, such as guns, powder and shot, tobacco, and especially brandy.

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This liquor, the most fatal present the old world ever made to the new, was no sooner known to the savages, than they grew passionately fond of it. It was equally impossible for them to abstain from it, or to use it with moderation. It was soon observed that this liquor disturbed their domestic peace, deprived them of their judgment, made them furious; that it occasioned husbands, wives, children, brothers and sisters, to abuse and quarrel with one another. In vain did some sober Frenchmen expostulate with them, and endeavour to shame them out of these excesses. "It is you (answered they) who have taught us to drink this liquor; and now we cannot do without it. If you refuse to give it to us, we will go and get it of the English. It is you have done the mischief, and it cannot be repaired."

The court of France, upon receiving contradictory information with respect to the disorders occasioned by this pernicious trade, hath alternately prohibited, tolerated, and authorised it, according to the light in which it was represented to the ministry. In the midst of these variations, the interest of the merchants was seldom at a stand. The sale of brandy was at all times nearly the same. Rational men considered it, however, as the principal cause of the diminution of the human race, and consequently of the skins of beasts, which became every day more and more evident.

C. H. A. P. V.

State of CANADA at the peace of UTRECHT.

AT the peace of Utrecht, this vast country was in a state of weakness and misery not to be conceived. This was owing to the French who came there first, and who rather threw themselves into this country than settled upon it. Most of them had done nothing more than run about the woods; the more reasonable among them had attempted some cultures, but without choice or plan. A piece of ground, hastily tilled and built upon, was as hastily forsaken. However, the expences the government was at, together with the profits of the fur-trade, at times afforded the inhabitants a comfortable subsistence; but a series of unfortunate wars soon deprived them of these enjoyments. In 1714, the exports from Canada did not exceed 13,125 *l.* This sum, added to 15,312 *l.* 10 *s.* which the government sent over every year, was all the colony had to depend upon for the payment of the goods they received from Europe. And indeed these were so few, that most people were reduced to wear skins like the Indians. Such was the deplorable situation of the far greater part of twenty thousand French inhabitants, who were supposed to be in these immense regions.

C H A P. VI.

Population, agriculture, manners, government, fisheries, industry, and revenues of CANADA.

BUT the happy spirit which at that time animated the several parts of the world, roused Canada from the languid state in which it had been so long plunged. It appears from the estimates taken in 1753 and 1758, which were nearly equal, that the population amounted to 91,000 souls, exclusive of the regular troops, whose numbers varied according to the different exigencies of the colony.

This calculation did not include the many allies dispersed throughout an extent of 1200 leagues in length, and of considerable breadth; nor yet the 16,000 Indians who dwelt in the centre of the French settlements, or in their neighbourhood. None of these were ever considered as subjects, tho' they lived in the midst of a great European colony: the smallest clans still preserved their independence. All men talk of liberty, but the savage alone enjoys it. Not only the whole nation, but every individual, is truly free. The consciousness of his independence operates upon all his thoughts and actions. He would enter the palace of an Asiatic monarch just as he would come into a peasant's cottage, and neither be dazzled by his splendor nor awed by his power. It is his own species, it is mankind, it is his equal, that he loves and respects; but he would hate a master, and destroy him.

Part of the French colony was centured in three cities. Quebec, the capital of Canada, is 1500 leagues distant from France, and 120 leagues from the sea. It is built in the form of an amphitheatre, on a peninsula

insula made by the river St Lawrence and the river St Charles ; and commands a prospect over extensive fields which serve to enrich it, and a very safe road that will admit upwards of two hundred ships. It is three miles in circumference. Two thirds of this circuit are defended by the water and the rocks, which are a better security than the fortifications erected on the ramparts that cut the peninsula. The houses are tolerably well constructed. The inhabitants were computed at about 10,000 souls at the beginning of the year 1759. It was the centre of commerce, and the seat of government.

The city of the Trois Rivieres, built ten years latter than Quebec, and situated thirty leagues higher, was raised with a view of encouraging the trade with the northern Indians. But this settlement, though brilliant at first, never attained to more than 1500 inhabitants, because the fur-trade was soon diverted from this market, and carried entirely to Montreal.

Montreal is an island, ten leagues long, and four broad almost, formed by the river St Lawrence, sixty leagues above Quebec. Of all the adjacent country, this is the mildest, the most pleasant, and the most fruitful spot. A few scattered huts, erected by chance in 1640, advanced to a regular built town, which contained four thousand inhabitants. At first it lay exposed to the insults of the savages ; but was afterwards enclosed with slight palisadoes, and then with a wall, about fifteen feet high, topped with battlements. It fell to decay when the inroads of the Iroquois obliged the French to erect forts higher up the country to secure the fur-trade.

The other colonists, who were not comprised within the walls of these three cities, did not live in towns, but were scattered along the banks of the river St Lawrence. None were to be seen near the mouth
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of that river, where the soil is rugged and barren, and where no corn will ripen. The first habitations to the south began fifty leagues, and to the north twenty leagues, below Quebec; they were thinly scattered, and their produce was but indifferent. The truly fertile fields began only near to the capital, and they grew better as one drew nearer to Montreal. Nothing can be more beautiful to the eye than the rich borders of that long and broad canal. Woods scattered here and there which decorated the tops of the grassy mountains, meadows covered with flocks, fields crowned with ripening corn, small streams of water flowing down to the river, churches and castles seen at intervals through the trees, exhibited a succession of the most enchanting prospects. These would have been still more delightful, if the edict of 1745 had been observed, which forbade the colonist from dividing his plantations, unless they were an acre and a half in front, and thirty or forty acres in depth. Indolent heirs would not then have torn in pieces the inheritance of their fathers. They would have been compelled to form new plantations; and vast spaces of fallow land would no longer have separated rich and cultivated plains.

Nature herself directed the labours of the husbandman, and taught him to avoid watery and sandy grounds, and all those where the pine, the fir-tree, and the cedar, grew solitary; but wherever he found a soil covered with maple, oak, beech, horn-beam, and small cherry-trees, there he might reasonably expect an increase of twenty to one in his wheat, and thirty to one in Indian corn, without the trouble of manuring.

All the plantations, though of different extents, were sufficient for the wants of their respective owners. There were few of them did not yield maize, barley,

flax, hemp, tobacco, pulse, and pot-herbs, in great plenty, excellent in their kind.

Most of the inhabitants had a score of sheep whose wool was very valuable to them, ten or a dozen milch-cows, and five or six oxen for the plough. The cattle was small, but their flesh was excellent, and these people lived much better than our country people do in Europe.

With this kind of affluence, they could afford to keep a good number of horses. They were not fine, indeed; but able to go through a great deal of hard work, and to run a prodigious way upon the snow. They were so fond of multiplying them in the colony, that in winter-time they would lavish on them the corn that they themselves regretted at another season.

Such was the situation of the 83,000 French dispersed or collected on the banks of the river St Lawrence. Above the head of the river, and in what is called the Upper country, there were 8000 more, who were more addicted to hunting and trade than to husbandry.

Their first settlement was Catarakui, or fort Frontenac, built in 1671, at the entrance of the lake Ontario, to stop the inroads of the English and Iroquois. The bay of this place served as a harbour for the men of war and trading vessels belonging to this great lake, which might with more propriety be called a sea, and where storms are almost as frequent and as dreadful as on the ocean.

Between the lakes Ontario and Erie, which both measure 300 leagues in circumference, lies a continent of fourteen leagues. This land is intersected toward the middle by the famous fall of Niagara, which from its height, and breadth, and shape, and from the quantity and impetuosity of its waters, is justly accounted the most wonderful cataract in the world. It

was above this grand awful water-fall, that France had erected fortifications, with a design to prevent the Indians, from carrying that furs to the rival nation.

Beyond the lake Erie is an extent of land, distinguished by the name of the Strait, which exceeds all Canada for the mildness of the climate, the beauty and variety of the prospects, the richness of the soil, and the profusion of game and fish. Nature has lavished all her sweets to enrich this delightful spot. But this was not the motive that determined the French to settle there in the beginning of the present century. It was the vicinity of several Indian nations who would supply them abundantly with furs; and, indeed, this trade increased with considerable rapidity.

The success of this new settlement proved fatal to the post of Michillimakinach, a hundred leagues further, between the lake Michigan, the lake Huron, and the lake Superior, which are all three navigable. The greatest part of the trade which used to be carried on there with the natives, went over to the Strait; and there is fixed.

Besides the forts already mentioned, there are some of lesser note, in different parts of the country, constructed upon rivers, or at the openings between the mountains. The first sentiment interest inspires is that of mistrust, and its first impulse is that of attack or defence. Each of these forts was manned with a garrison, which defended the French who were settled in the neighbourhood. All together made up 8000 souls, who inhabited the upper country.

The manners of the French colonists settled in Canada were not always answerable to the climate they inhabited. Those that lived in the country spent their winter in idleness, gravely sitting by their fire-side,

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When the return of spring called them out to the indispensable labours of the field, they ploughed the ground superficially without ever manuring it, sowed it carelessly, and then sank again into their former indolence till harvest time. The people were too proud or too lazy to work for hire, so that every family was obliged to gather in their own crops; and nothing was to be seen of that sprightly joy, which on a fine summer's day enlivens the reapers, whilst they are gathering in their rich harvests. Those of the Canadians never went beyond a small parcel of corn of each kind, a little hay and tobacco, a few cyder-apples, cabbages, and onions. This was the whole produce of a plantation in that country.

This amazing negligence might be owing to several causes. The excessive cold in winter, which froze up the rivers, in a manner locked up and benumbed the faculties of men. They contracted such a habit of idleness during the continuance of the severe weather for eight months successively, that labour appeared an intolerable hardship even in the finest weather. The numerous festivals of their religion were another hindrance to their industry. Men are ready enough to practise that kind of devotion which exempts them from labour. Lastly, their passion for arms, which had been purposely encouraged amongst these courageous and daring men, made them averse from the labours of husbandry. Their minds were so entirely absorbed in military glory, that they were fond of nothing but war, though they engaged in it without pay.

The inhabitants of the cities, especially of the capital, lived, both in winter and summer, in a constant round of dissipation. They were alike insensible of the beauties of nature, and to the pleasures of imagination; they had no taste for arts or sciences, nor

reading or instruction. Their only passion was amusement, and persons of all ages were fond of dancing at assemblies. This way of life considerably increased the influence of the ladies; who were possessed of every attraction, except those soft emotions of the soul, which alone constitute the merit and the charm of beauty. Lively, gay, coquettes, and addicted to gallantry, they were more gratified with inspiring than feeling the tender passion. In both sexes might be observed a greater degree of devotion than virtue, more religion than probity, a higher sense of honour than of real honesty. Superstition took place of morality, as it does wherever men are taught to believe that ceremonies will compensate for good works, and that crimes are expiated by prayers.

Idleness, prejudice, and levity, would never have taken such an ascendant in Canada, had the government been careful to employ the minds of the people upon solid and profitable objects. But all the colonists were required to pay an implicit obedience to a mere military authority. They were acquainted with the slow and sure process of the laws. The will of the chief, or of his delegates, was an oracle, which they were not even at liberty to interpret; an awful decree, which they were to submit to without examination. Delays, representations, excuses of honour, were so many crimes in the eyes of a despotic ruler, who had usurped a power of punishing or absolving by his bare word. He held in his own hands all favours and penalties, rewards and punishments; the right of imprisoning without the shadow of a crime, and the still more formidable right of enforcing a reverence for his decrees as so many acts of justice, tho' they were but the irregular sallies of his own caprice.

In early times, this unlimited power was not confined to matters relative to military discipline and political

tical administration, but was extended even to civil jurisdiction. The governor decided arbitrarily and without appeal upon all differences arising between the colonists. Fortunately these contests were very rare, in a country where all things were almost, as it were, in common. This dangerous authority subsisted till 1663, at which period a tribunal was erected in the capital, for the definitive trial of all causes depending throughout the colony. The custom of Paris, modified suitably to local combinations, formed the code of their laws.

This code was not mutilated or disfigured by a mixture of revenue laws. The administration of the finances in Canada only took up a few fines of alienation; a trifling contribution from the inhabitants of Quebec and Montreal towards keeping up the fortifications; and some duties upon all goods imported and exported, which, indeed, were too high. In 1747, all these several articles brought no more than 11,483*l.* 15*s.* into the treasury.

The lands were not taxed by the government, nor did they enjoy an entire exemption. A great mistake was made at the first settling of the colony, in granting to officers and gentlemen a piece of land, from two to four leagues in front, and unlimited in depth. These great proprietors, who were men of moderate fortunes, and unskilled in agriculture, were unable to manage such vast estates, and were therefore under a necessity of making over their lands to soldiers or planters upon condition they should pay them a kind of ground-rent or homage for ever. This was introducing into America something very like the feudal government, which was so long fatal to Europe. The lord ceded ninety acres to each of his vassals, who on their part engaged to work in his mill, to pay him annually one or two sols per acre, and a bushel and a

half of corn for the entire grant. This tax, though but a small one, maintained a great number of idle people, at the expence of the only class with which a colony ought to have been peopled. The true inhabitants, the laborious men, found the burden of maintaining an annuitant nobility increased by the additional exactions of the clergy. In 1667, the tithes were imposed. They were, indeed, reduced to a twenty-sixth part of the crops, notwithstanding the clamours of that rapacious body; but still this was an oppression, in a country where the clergy had a property allotted them, which was sufficient for their maintenance.

So many impediments thrown in the way of agriculture, disabled the colony to pay for the necessaries that came from the mother country. The French ministry were at last so fully convinced of this truth, that after having always obstinately opposed the establishment of manufactures in America, they thought it their interest even to promote them, in 1706. But these too tardy encouragements had very little effect; and the united industry of the colonists could never produce more than a few coarse linens, and some very bad woollen stuffs.

The fisheries were not much more inviting than the manufactures. The only one that could be an object of exportation, was that of the SEAL. This animal has been ranked in the class of fish, though he is not dumb, is always born on land, and lives more on dry ground than in the water. His head is somewhat like that of a mastiff. He has four paws, which are very short, especially the hinder ones, which serve him rather to crawl than to walk upon. They are shaped like fins, but the fore feet have claws. His skin is hard, and covered with short hair. He is
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born white, but turns sandy or black as he grows up, Sometimes he is of all the three colours.

There are two distinct sorts of seals. The larger sort will sometimes weigh no less than two thousand weight, and seem to have a sharper snout than the others. The small ones, whose skin is commonly marbled, are brisker, and more dexterous at extricating themselves out of the snares that are laid for them. The Indians have the art of taming them so far as to make them follow them.

It is upon the rocks that they couple, and that the dams lay their young, and sometimes upon the ice. They commonly bear two, and they frequently suckle them in the water, but more frequently on land. When they want to teach them to swim, it is said they carry them upon their backs, drop them now and then into the water, then take them up again and proceed in this manner till they are strong enough to swim of themselves. Most little birds flutter about from spray to spray before they venture to fly abroad; the eagle carries her young, to train them up to encounter the boisterous winds; it is not therefore surprising, that the seal born on land, should exercise her little ones in living under water.

The manner of fishing for these amphibious animals is very simple. Their custom is, when they are out at sea, to enter into the creeks with the tide. As soon as some place is discovered where they resort in shoals, they surround it with nets and flakes only taking care to leave a little opening for them to get in. At high water this opening is stopped up, and when the tide is gone down the prey remains on dry ground. There is nothing more to do but to knock them down. Sometimes the fishermen get into a canoe, and follow them to their lurking places, where they fire upon them the moment they put their heads out of the wa-

ter to take in air. If they are only wounded they are easily caught; if they are killed they sink directly, but are fetched up by great dogs that are trained to dive for them seven or eight fathom under water.

The skin of the seal was formerly used for muffs; but afterwards to cover trunks, and to make shoes and boots. When it is well tanned, the grain is not unlike that of Morocco leather. If on the one hand it is not quite so fine, on the other it keeps longer.

The flesh of the seal is generally allowed to be good, but it turns to better account if it is boiled down to oil. For this purpose, it is sufficient to set it on the fire in a copper or earthen vessel. Frequently nothing more is done than to spread the fat upon large squares made of boards, where it melts of itself, and the oil runs off through an opening made for that purpose. It keeps clear for a long time, has no bad smell, and does not gather dross. It is used for burning and for dressing of leather.

Five or six small ships were fitted out yearly from Canada for the seal fishery in the gulph of St Lawrence, and one or two less for the Caribee islands. They received from the islands nine or ten vessels laden with rum, melasses, coffee, and sugar; and from France about thirty ships, whose lading together might amount to nine thousand tons.

In the interval between the two last wars, which was the most flourishing period of the colony, the exports did not exceed 525,000*l.* in furs, 35,000*l.* in beaver, 10,937*l.* 10*s.* in seal oil, the same in flour and pease, and 6362*l.* 10*s.* in wood of all kinds. These several articles put together, amounted but to 115,937*l.* 10*s.* a year, a sum insufficient to pay for the commodities

dities they drew from the mother country. The government made up the deficiency.

When the French were in possession of Canada, they had very little money. The little that was brought in from time to time by the new settlers did not stay long in the country, because the necessities of the colony sent it away again. This was a great obstacle to the progress of commerce and agriculture. In 1670, the court of Versailles coined a particular sort of money for the use of all the French settlements in America; and set a nominal value upon it, a fourth part above the value of the current coin of the mother-country. But this expedient was not productive of the advantages that were expected, at least with regard to New France. They therefore contrived to substitute paper currency to metal, for the payment of the troops and other expences of government. This succeeded till the year 1713, when they were no longer true to the engagements they had entered into with the administrators of the colony. The bills of exchange they drew upon the treasury of the mother country were not honoured, and from that time fell into discredit. They were at last paid off in 1720, but with the loss of five-eighths.

This event occasioned the use of money to be resumed in Canada: but this expedient lasted only two years. The merchants found it troublesome, chargeable, and hazardous, to send money to France, and so did all the colonies who had any remittances to make; so that they were the first to solicit the re-establishment of paper currency. This money consisted of cards, on which was stamped the arms of France and Navarre; and they were signed by the governor, the intendant, and the comptroller. They were of 1 l. 1 s. 10 s. 6 d. 5 s. 3 d. 2 s. 1. 1-2 d. and of 1 s. 3. 3-4 d. 7. -8 d. 3. 3-4 d. value. The value of the whole
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number that was made out, did not exceed 43,750*l.* When this sum was not sufficient for the demands of the public, the deficiency was made up by orders signed only by the intendant. This was the first grievance; but another and more scandalous abuse was, that their number was unlimited. The smallest were of 10*s.* 1-2*d.* and the highest of 4*l.* 7*s.* 6*d.* These different papers circulated about the colony, and supplied the want of money till the month of October. This was the latest season for the ships to sail from Canada. Then all this paper-currency was turned into bills of exchange payable in France by the government, which was supposed to have made use of the value. But they were so multiplied by the year 1754, that the royal treasury could no longer answer such large demands, and was forced to protract the payment. An unfortunate war, that broke out two years after, so increased their number, that at last they were prohibited. This presently raised the price of all commodities to an immoderate degree; and as, on account of the enormous expences of the war, the king was the great consumer, he alone bore the loss of the discarded paper, and of the dearth of the goods. In 1759, the ministry were obliged to stop payment of the Canada bills, till their origin and their real value could be traced. They amounted to an alarming number.

The annual expences of government for Canada, which in 1729 did not exceed 17,500*l.* and before 1749 never went beyond 74,375*l.* were immense after that period. The year 1750 cost 91,875*l.* the year 1751, 118,125*l.* the year 1752, 178,937*l.* 10*s.* the year 1753, 231,875*l.* the year 1754, 194,687*l.* 10*s.* the year 1755, 266,875*l.* the year 1756, 494,375*l.* the year 1757, 842,187*l.* the year 1758, 1,220,025*l.* the year 1759, 1,137,500*l.* the first eight months of the

the year 1763, 590,625 *l.* Of these prodigious sums, 3,500,000 *l.* were owing at the peace.

This dishonest debt was traced up to its origin, and the enormities that had given rise to it were inquired into as far as the distance of time and place would allow. The greatest delinquents, who were become so in consequence of the unlimited power and credit given them by the government, were legally condemned to make considerable restitutions, but still too moderate. The claims of private creditors were all discussed. Fortunately for them and for the nation, the ministry intrusted with this important and necessary business, were none but men of known integrity, who were not to be intimidated by the threats of power, nor bribed by the offers of fortune; who could not be imposed upon by artifice, or wearied out by difficulties. By steadily and impartially holding an even balance between the interest of the public, and the rights of individuals, they reduced the sum total of the debts to 1,662,000 *l.*

C H A P. VII.

Advantages which FRANCE might have derived from CANADA. Errors which have deprived her of them.

IT was the fault of France if Canada was not worth the immense sums that were bestowed upon it. It had long since appeared, that this vast region was every where capable of yielding prodigious crops; yet no more was cultivated than what was barely sufficient for the sustenance of the inhabitants. With moderate labour they might have raised corn enough to supply all the American islands, and even some parts of Europe. It is well known, that in 1751 the

colony sent over two ship-loads of wheat to Marfeilles, which proved very good, and fold very well. This exportation ought to have been encouraged the more as the crops are liable to few accidents in that country, where the corn is fown in May, and gathered in before the end of Auguft.

If husbandry had been encouraged and extended the breed of cattle would have been increased. They have fo much pasture ground, and fuch plenty of acorns, that the colonies might eafily have bred oxen and hogs, fufficient to fupply the French iflands with beef and pork, without having recourfe to Irish beef. Poffibly, they might in time have increased fo much as to be able to victual the fhips of the mother country.

Their fheep would have been no lefs advantageous to France. They were eafily bred in Canada, where the dams commonly bear twins; and if they did not multiply fafter, it was becaufe the ewes were left with the ram at all feafons; becaufe, as they moftly brought forth in February, the feverity of the weather destroyed a great many lambs; and becaufe they were obliged to feed them with corn, and the inhabitants found them fo chargeable, that they did not much care to rear them. All this might have been prevented by a law, enjoining all farmers to part the ram from the ewes from September to February. The lambs dropped in May would have been reared without any expence or hazard, and in a fhort time the colony would have been covered with numerous flocks. Their wool, which is known to be very fine and good, would have fupplied the manufactures of France, inftead of that which they import from Andalusia and Caftile. The ftate would have been enriched by this valuable commodity, and, in return, the colony would have received a
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thousand new and desirable articles from the mother country.

The Gin-seng would have been a great acquisition to both. This plant, which the Chinese procure from the Corea, or from Tartary, and which they buy at the weight of gold, was found in 1720, by the Jesuit Lafitau, in the forests of Canada, where it grows very common. It was soon carried to Canton, where it was much esteemed, and sold at an extravagant price. The Gin-seng, which at first sold at Quebec for about 1s. 6d. a pound, immediately rose to 1l. 1s. 10. 1-2d. In 1753, the Canadians exported this plant to the value of 21,875*l.* There was such a demand for it, that they were induced to gather in May what ought not to have been gathered till September, and to dry in the oven what should have been dried gradually in a shade. This spoilt the sale of the Gin-seng of Canada in the only country in the world where it could find a market; and the colonists were severely punished for their excessive rapaciousness, by the total loss of a branch of commerce, which, if rightly managed, might have proved a source of opulence.

Another and a surer source for the encouragement of industry, was the working of the iron mines which abound in those parts. The only one that has ever attracted the notice of the Europeans, lies near the town of Trois Rivieres. It was discovered near the surface of the ground; there are no mines that yield more, and the best in Spain are not superior to it for the pliability of the metal. A smith from Europe, who came thither in 1739, greatly improved the working of this mine, which till then had been but unskillfully managed. From that time no other iron was used in the colony. They even exported some samples; but France would not be convinced that this iron was the best for fire-arms. The design of using
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this iron would have been very favourable to the project which, after much irresolution, had at last been adopted, of forming a marine establishment in Canada.

The first Europeans who landed on that vast region, found it all covered with forests. The principal trees were oaks of prodigious height, and pines of all sizes. These woods could have been conveyed with ease down the river St Lawrence, and the numberless rivers that discharge into it. By an unaccountable fatality, all these treasures were overlooked or despised. At last the court of Versailles thought proper to attend to them. They gave orders for erecting docks at Quebec for building men of war; but unfortunately trusted the business to agents, who had nothing in view but their own private interest.

The timber should have been felled upon the hills, where the cold air hardens the wood by contracting its fibres; where as it was constantly fetched from marshy grounds, and from the banks of the rivers, where the moisture gives it a looser texture, and makes it too rich. Instead of conveying it in barges, they floated it down on rafts to the place of its destination; where being forgotten and left in the water, it gathered a kind of moss that rotted it. It ought to have been put under shade when it was landed; but it was left exposed to the sun in summer, to the snow in winter, and to the rains in spring and autumn. From thence it was conveyed into the dock yards, where it again sustained the inclemency of the seasons for two or three years. Negligence or dishonesty enhanced the price of every thing to such a degree, that they got their sails, ropes, pitch, and tar, from Europe, in a country, which, with a little industry, might have supplied the whole kingdom of France with all these materials. This bad management had totally brought
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the wood of Canada into disrepute, and effectually ruined the resources which that country afforded for the navy.

This colony furnished the manufactures of the mother country with a branch of industry that might almost be called an exclusive one, which was the preparation of the beaver. This commodity at first was subjected to the burden and restraints of monopoly. The India company could not but make an ill use of their privilege, and really did so. What they bought of the Indians was chiefly paid for in English scarlet cloths, which those people were very fond of appearing in. But as they could make twenty-five or thirty *per-cent.* more of their commodities in the English settlements than the company chose to give, they carried thither all they could conceal from the search of the company's agents, and exchanged their beaver for English cloth and India calico. Thus did France, by the abuse of an institution which she was by no means obliged to maintain, lose the double advantage of furnishing materials to some of her own manufactures, and of securing a market for the produce of some others. She was equally ignorant with regard to the facility of establishing a whale-fishery in Canada.

The chief sources of this fishery are Davis's straits and Greenland. Fifty ships come every year into the former of these latitudes, and a hundred and fifty into the latter. The Dutch are concerned for more than three fourths of them. The rest are fitted out from Bremen, Hamburg, and Britain. It is computed that the whole expence of fitting out 200 ships, of 350 tons burden upon an average, must amount to 437,500 *l.* The usual produce of each is rated at 3,500 *l.* and consequently the whole amount of the fishery cannot be less than 140,000 *l.* If we deduct from this the profits of the seamen who devote themselves to this
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hard and dangerous voyage, very little remains for the merchants concerned in this trade.

This is what first gradually disgusted the Biscayans, who were the first adventurers in the undertaking. They have not been succeeded by other Frenchmen, inasmuch that the whole fishery has been totally thrown up by that nation, which of all others made the greatest consumption of blubber, whalebone and spermaceti. Many proposals have been made for reforming it in Canada. There was the finest prospect of a plentiful fishery in the river St. Lawrence, attended with less danger and less expence than at Davis's straits or Greenland. It has ever been the fate of this colony, that the best schemes relative to it have not been brought to bear; and this in particular of a whale-fishery, which would have singularly roused the activity of the colonists, and would have proved an excellent nursery for seamen, has never met with the countenance of the government.

The same remissness has baffled the scheme, so often planned, and two or three times attempted, of fishing for cod on both sides of the river St. Lawrence. Very possibly the success would not have fully answered their expectation, because the fish is but indifferent and proper beaches are wanting to dry it. But the gulph would have made ample amends. It abounds with cod, which might have been carried to Newfoundland or Louisbourg, and advantageously bartered for productions of the Caribbee islands and European commodities. Every thing conspired to promote the prosperity of the settlements in Canada, if they had been seconded by the men who seemed to be the most interested in them. But whence could proceed that inconceivable inaction, which suffered them to languish in the same low condition they were in at first?

It must be confessed, some obstacles arose from the very nature of the climate. The river St Lawrence is frozen up for six months in the year. At other times it is not navigable by night, on account of the thick fogs, rapid currents, sand-banks, and concealed rocks, which make it even dangerous by day-light. These difficulties increase from Quebec to Montreal, to such a degree, that sailing is quite impracticable, and rowing so difficult, that from the Trois Rivières, where the tide ends, the oars cannot resist the violence of the current, without the assistance of a very fair wind, and then only in the space of a month or six weeks. From Montreal to the Lake Ontario, travellers meet with no less than six water falls, which oblige them to unload their canoes, and to carry them and their lading a considerable way by land.

Far from encouraging them to get the better of nature, a misinformed government planned none but ruinous schemes. To gain the advantage over the English in the fur-trade, they erected three and thirty forts, at a great distance from each other. The building and victualling of them diverted the Canadians from the only labours that ought to have engrossed their attention. This error engaged them in an arduous and perilous track.

It was not without some uneasiness that the Indians saw the beginning of these settlements, which might endanger their liberty. Their suspicions induced them to take up arms, so that the colony was seldom free from war. Necessity made all the Canadians soldiers. Their manly and military education made them hardy, and fearless of danger. Just emerging from childhood, they would traverse a vast continent in the summer time in canoes, and in winter on foot through ice and snow. As they had nothing out their gun to procure subsistence with, they were in continual dan-

ger of starving ; but they were under no apprehensions of fear, not even of falling into the hands of the savages, who had exerted all the efforts of their imagination in inventing tortures for their enemies, far worse than death.

The sedentary arts of peace, and the steady labours of agriculture, had no attraction for men accustomed to an active but wandering life. The court, which forms no idea of the sweets or the utility of rural life, increased the aversion which the Canadians had conceived for it, by bestowing all their favours and honours upon military actions alone. The distinction that was mostly lavished was that of nobility, which was attended with the most fatal consequence. It not only plunged the Canadians in idleness but also inspired them with an unsurmountable turn for every thing that was splendid. Profits, which ought to have been kept sacred for the improvement of the lands, were laid out in ornament, and a real property was concealed under the trappings of destructive luxury.

C H A P. VIII.

Origin of the wars between the BRITISH and the FRENCH in CANADA.

SUCH was the state of the colony in 1747, when La Galissoniere was appointed governor. He was an able, resolute, and active man ; a man of great steadiness, because he acted upon sound principles. The British wanted to extend the limits of Nova Scotia, or Acadia, as far as the south side of the river St Lawrence. He thought this an unjust claim, and was determined to confine them within the peninsula, which he apprehended to be the limits settled by treaty. Their

SETTLEMENTS IN AMERICA. 217

Their ambition of encroaching on the inland parts, particularly towards the Ohio or Fair River, he likewise thought unreasonable. He was of opinion, that the Apalachian mountains ought to be the boundary of their possessions, and was fully determined they should not pass them. His successor, who was appointed whilst he was collecting the means of accomplishing this vast design, entered into his views with all the warmth they deserved. Numbers of forts were immediately erected on all sides, to support the system which the court had adopted, perhaps, without foreseeing, or perhaps without sufficiently attending to, the consequences.

At this period began those hostilities between the British and the French in North America, which were rather countenanced than openly avowed by the respective mother countries. This clandestine mode of carrying on the war was perfectly agreeable to the ministry at Versailles, as it afforded an opportunity of recovering by degrees, and without exposing their weakness, what they had lost by treaties, at a time when the enemy had imposed their own terms. These repeated checks at last opened the eyes of Great Britain, and disclosed the political system of her rival. George II thought an equivocal situation was inconsistent with the superiority of his maritime forces. His flag was ordered to insult the French flag on every sea. The English accordingly took or dispersed all the French ships they met with, and in 1758 steered towards Cape Breton.

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C H A P

C H A P . IX.

Conquest of CAPE BRETON by the BRITISH.

THIS island, the key of Canada, already had been attacked in 1745; and the event is of so singular a nature, that it deserves a particular detail. The plan of this first invasion was laid at Boston, and New England bore the expence of it. A merchant, named Pepperel, who had stirred up, encouraged, and directed the enthusiasm of the colony, was intrusted with the command of an army of 6000 men, who had been levied for this expedition.

Though these forces, convoyed by a squadron from Jamaica, brought the first news to Cape Breton of the danger that threatened them, though the advantage of a surprize would have secured their landing without opposition; though they had but 600 regular troops to encounter, and 800 inhabitants hastily armed; the success of the undertaking was still precarious. What great exploits, indeed, could be expected from a raw militia, hastily assembled, who had never seen a siege or faced an enemy, and were to act under the guidance of sea officers only. These unexperienced troops stood in need of the assistance of some fortunate incident, which they were indeed favoured with in a singular manner.

The construction and repairs of the fortifications had at all times been left to the management of the garrison of Louisbourg. The soldiers were eager of being employed in these works, which they considered as conducive to their safety, and as a means of procuring a comfortable subsistence. When they found that those who were to have paid them appropriated the

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the fruit of their labours to their own use, they demanded justice. It was denied them, and they determined to maintain their right. As these depredations had been shared between the chief persons of the colony and the subaltern officers, the soldiers could obtain no redress. Their indignation against these rapacious extortioners rose to such a height, that they despised all authority. They had lived in open rebellion for six months past, when the English appeared before the place.

This was the time to conciliate the minds of both parties, and to unite in the common cause. The soldiers made the first advances; but their commanders mistrusted a generosity of which they themselves were incapable. If these mean oppressors could have conceived it possible that the soldiery could have entertained such elevated notions as to sacrifice their own resentment to the good of their country, they would have taken advantage of this disposition and have fallen upon the enemy whilst they were forming their camp and beginning to open their trenches. Besiegers, unacquainted with any military principle, would have been disconcerted by regular and vigorous attacks. The first checks might have been sufficient to discourage them, and to make them relinquish the undertaking. But it was firmly believed, that the soldiers were desirous of falling out, only that they might have an opportunity of deserting; and their own officers kept them in a manner prisoners, till a defence so ill managed had reduced them to the necessity of capitulating. The whole island shared the fate of Louisbourg, its only bulwark.

This valuable possession, restored to France by the treaty of Aix la Chapelle, was again attacked by the English in 1758. On the 2d of June, a fleet of twenty-three ships of the line and eighteen frigates, carrying

Notwithstanding all these disadvantages, the besieged were determined to make an obstinate resistance. While they were employed in defending themselves with so much firmness, the succours they expected from Canada might possibly arrive. At all events, this was a means of preserving that great colony from all further invasion for the remainder of the campaign. It is scarce credible that this degree of resolution was supported by the courage of a woman. Madam de Drucourt was continually upon the ramparts, with her purse in her hand; and firing, herself, three guns every day, seemed to dispute with the governor her husband the glory of his office. The besieged were not dismayed at the ill success of their several sallies, or the masterly operations concerted by Admiral Boscawen and General Amherst. It was but at the eve of an assault, which it was impossible to sustain, that they talked of surrendering. They made an honourable capitulation; and the conqueror shewed more respect for his enemy and for himself, than to sully his glory by any act of barbarity or avarice.

C H A P. X.

The BRITISH attack CANADA.

THE conquest of Cape Breton opened the way into Canada. The very next year the seat of war was moved thither, or rather the scenes of bloodshed which had long been acted over that immense country were multiplied. The cause of these proceedings was this:

The French, settled in those parts, had carried their ambitious views towards the north, where the finest furs were to be had, and in the greatest plenty. When

his vein of wealth was exhausted, or yielded less than it did at first, their trade turned southward, where they discovered the Ohio, to which they gave the name of the Fair River. It laid open the natural communication between Canada and Louisiana. For though the ships that sail up to the river St Lawrence go no further than Quebec, the navigation is carried on in barges up to the lake Ontario, which is parted from lake Erie by a neck of land, where the French very early built Fort Niagara. It is on this spot, in the neighbourhood of lake Erie, that the source of the river Ohio is found, which waters the finest country in the world, and, increasing by the many rivers that fall into it, conveys its waters into the Mississippi.

Yet the French made no use of this magnificent canal. The trifling intercourse that subsisted between the two colonies was always carried on by the northern regions. The new way, which was much shorter and easier than the old, first began to be frequented by a body of troops that were sent over to Canada in 1739, to assist the colony of Louisiana, which was in open war with the Indians. After this expedition, the southern road was again forgotten, and was never thought of till the year 1753. At that period several small forts were erected along the Ohio, the course of which had been traced for four years past. The most considerable of these forts took its name from governor Duquesne, who had built it.

The British colonies could not see without concern French settlements raised behind them, which joined with the old ones and seemed to surround them. They were apprehensive lest the Apalachian mountains, which were to form the natural boundaries between both nations, should not prove a sufficient barrier against the attempts of a restless and warlike neighbour. Prompted by this mistrust, they themselves passed these

these famous mountains, to dispute the possession of the Ohio with the rival nation. This first step proved unsuccessful. The several parties that were successively sent out were routed; and the forts were pulled down as fast as they built them.

To put an end to these national affronts, and revenge the disgrace they reflected on the mother country, a large body of troops was sent over under the command of General Braddock. In the summer of 1755, as this general was proceeding to attack fort Duquesne with 36 pieces of cannon and 600 men, he was surpris'd within four leagues of the place by 250 Frenchmen and 650 Indians. and all his army was cut to pieces. This unaccountable mischance put a stop to the march of three numerous bodies that were advancing to fall upon Canada. The terror occasioned by this accident made them hasten back to their quarters, and in the next campaign all their motions were guided by the most timorous caution.

The French were emboldened with this perplexity; and, though very much inferior to them, ventured to appear before Oswego in August 1756. It was originally a fortified magazine at the mouth of the river Onondago on the lake Ontario. It stood nearly in the centre of Canada, in so advantageous a situation, that many works had from time to time been erected there which had rendered it one of the capital posts in those parts. It was guarded by 1800 men, and 121 pieces of cannon, and great plenty of stores of all kinds. Though so well supported, it surrendered in a few days to the brisk and bold attacks of 3000 men who were laying siege to it.

In August 1757, 5500 French and 1800 Indians marched up to Fort George, situated on lake Sacrament, which was justly considered as the bulwark of the English settlements, and the rendezvous of all

the forces destined against Canada. Nature and art had conspired to block up the roads leading to that place, and to make all access impracticable. These advantages were further supported by several bodies of troops placed at proper distances in the best positions. Yet these obstacles were surmounted with such prudence and intrepidity, as would have been memorable in history, had the scene of action lain in a more known spot. The French, after killing or dispersing all the small parties they met with, arrived before the place, and forced the garrison, consisting of 2264 men, to capitulate.

This fresh disaster roused the British. Their generals applied themselves during the winter season to the training up of their men, and bringing the several troops under a proper discipline. They made them exercise in the woods, in fighting after the Indian manner. In the spring, the army, consisting of 6300 regulars and 13,000 militia belonging to the colonies, assembled on the ruins of Fort George. They embarked on lake Sacrament, which parted the colonies of both nations; and marched up to Carillon, distant but four leagues.

That fort, which had been but lately erected on the breaking out of the war, was not extensive enough to withstand the forces that were marching against it. They therefore quickly formed intrenchments under the cannon of the fort, with stems of trees heaped up one upon another; and in front they laid large trees, and the branches being cut and sharpened answered the purpose of chevaux de frise. The colours were planted on the top of ramparts, behind which lay 3500 men.

The English were not dismayed at these formidable appearances, being fully determined to remove the disgrace of their former miscarriages in a country where

where the prosperity of their trade depended on the success of their arms. On the 8th of July 1758, they rushed upon these palisades with the wildest fury. In vain did the French fire upon them from the top of the parapet, whilst they were unable to defend themselves. They fell upon the sharp spikes, and were entangled among the stumps and boughs through which their eagerness had made them rush. All these losses served but to increase their furious violence. It continued for upwards of four hours, and cost them above 4000 of their brave men before they would give up this rash and desperate undertaking.

They were equally unsuccessful in lesser actions. They did not insult one post without meeting with a repulse. Every party they sent out was beaten, and every convoy intercepted. The depth of winter, which ought to have been their protection, was the very season in which the Indians and Canadians carried fire and sword to the frontiers and into the very heart of the English colonies.

All these disasters were owing to a false principle of government: The British ministry had always entertained a notion that the superiority of their navy was alone sufficient to assert their dominion in America, as it afforded a ready conveyance for succours, and could easily intercept the enemy's forces.

Though experience had shewn the fallacy of these notions, the ministry did not even endeavour to diminish the ill effects of them by the choice of their generals. Almost all those who were employed in this service were deficient in point of abilities and activity.

The armies were not such as would make amends for the defects of their commanders. The troops indeed were not wanting in that daring spirit and invincible courage which is the characteristic of the British

soldiers, arising from the climate, and still more from the nature of their government; but these national qualities were counterbalanced or extinguished by the hardships they underwent, in a country destitute of all the conveniences that Europe affords. As to the militia of the colonies, it was made up of peaceable husbandmen, who were not inured to slaughter, like most of the French colonists, by a habit of hunting and by military ardor.

To these disadvantages, arising from the nature of things, were added others altogether owing to misconduct. The posts erected for the safety of the several English settlements, were not so contrived as to support and assist each other. The provinces having all separate interests, and not being united under the authority of one head, did not concur in those joint efforts for the good of the whole, and that unanimity of sentiments which alone can insure the success of their measures. The season of action was wasted in vain altercations between the governors and the colonists. Every plan of operation that met with opposition from any assembly was dropped. If any one was agreed upon, it was certainly made public before the execution; and by thus divulging it, they made it miscarry. Lastly, they were in irreconcilable enmity with the Indians.

These nations had always shewn a visible partiality for the French, in return for the kindness they had shewn them in sending missionaries, whom they considered rather as ambassadors from the prince than as sent from God. These missionaries, by studying the language of the savages, conforming to their temper and inclinations, and putting in practice every attention to gain their confidence, had acquired an absolute dominion over their minds. The French colonists far from communicating the European manners, had

adopted those of the country they lived in; their indolence in time of peace, their activity in war, and their constant fondness for a wandering life.

Their strong attachment to the French was productive of the most inveterate hatred against the English. In their opinion, of all the European savages these were the hardest to tame. Their aversion soon rose to madness; and to a thirst for English blood, when they found that a reward was offered for their destruction, and that they were to be turned out of their native land by foreign assassins. The same hands which had enriched the English colony with their furs now took up the hatchet to destroy it. The Indians pursued the English with as much eagerness as they did the wild beasts. Glory was no longer their aim in battle, their only object was slaughter. They destroyed armies which the French wished only to subdue. Their fury rose to such a height, that an English prisoner having been conducted into a lonely habitation, the woman immediately cut off his arm, and made her family drink the blood that ran from it. A missionary Jesuit reproaching her with the atrociousness of the action, she answered him, "My children must be warriors, and therefore they must be fed with the blood of their enemies."

C H A P. XI.

Taking of QUEBEC by the BRITISH.

SUCH was the state of things, when an English fleet entered the river St Lawrence in June 1759. No sooner was it anchored at the ile of Orleans, than eight fire-ships were sent off to consume it. Had they executed their orders, not a ship or a man would have escaped; but the captains who conducted the operation were seized with a panic. They set fire to their vessels too soon, and hurried back to land in their boats. The assailants had seen their danger at a distance, but were delivered from it by this accident, and from that moment the conquest of Canada was almost certain.

The British flag soon appeared before Quebec. The business was to land there, and to get a firm footing in the neighbourhood of the town in order to lay siege to it. But they found the banks of the river so well entrenched, and so well defended by troops and redoubts, that their first attempts were fruitless. Every landing cost them torrents of blood, without gaining any ground. They had persisted for six weeks in these unsuccessful endeavours, when at last they had the singular good fortune to land unperceived. It was on the 12th of September, an hour before break of day, three miles above the town. Their army, consisting of 6000 men, was already drawn up in order of battle, when it was attacked the next day by a corps that was weaker by one third. For some time arduous supplied the want of numbers. At last, French vivacity gave up the victory to the enemy, who had lost

the Intrepid Wolfe their general, but did not lose their confidence and resolution.

This was gaining a considerable advantage, but it might not have been decisive. Twelve hours would have been sufficient to collect the troops that were posted within a few leagues of the field of battle, to join the vanquished army, and march up to the conqueror with a force superior to the former. This was the opinion of the French general Montcalm, who, being mortally wounded in the retreat, had time enough, before he expired, to think of the safety of his men, and to encourage them to repair their disaster. This generous motion was over-ruled by the council of war. They removed ten leagues off. The Cavalier de Levy, who had hastened from his post to replace Montcalm, blamed this instance of cowardice. They were ashamed of it, and wanted to recall it, and make another attempt for victory; but it was too late. Quebec, three parts destroyed by the firing from the ships, had capitulated on the 17th.

All Europe thought the taking of this place had put an end to the great contest of North America. They never imagined that a handful of Frenchmen, in want of every thing, who seemed to be in a desperate condition, would dare to think of protracting their inevitable fate. They did not know what these people were capable of doing. They hastily completed some entrenchments that had been begun ten leagues above Quebec. There they left troops sufficient to stop the progress of the enemy; and proceeded to Montreal, to concert measures to cancel their disgrace.

It was there agreed, that in the spring they should march out with an armed force against Quebec. to retake it by surprize; or if that should fail to besiege it in form. They had nothing in readiness for that

purpose; but the plan was so concerted that they should enter upon the undertaking just at the instant when the succours they expected from France could not fail of coming.

Though the colony had long been in dreadful want of every thing, the preparatives were already made, when the ice, which covered the whole river, began to give way towards the middle, and opened a small canal. They dragged some boats over the ice, and slipped them into the water. The army consisting of citizens and soldiers, who made but one body, and were animated with one soul, fell down this stream, with inconceivable ardour, on the 12th of April 1760. The British thought they still lay quiet in their winter-quarters. The army, already landed, was just come up with an advanced guard of 1500 men, posted three leagues from Quebec. This party was just upon the point of being cut to pieces, had it not been for one of those unaccountable incidents which no human prudence can foresee.

A gunner, attempting to step out of his boat, had fallen into the water. He caught hold of a flake of ice, climbed up upon it, and swam down the stream. As he passed by Quebec, close to the shore, he was seen by a centinel; who, observing a man in distress, called out for help. They flew to his assistance, and found him motionless. They knew him by his uniform to be a French soldier, and carried him to the governor's house, where by the help of spirituous liquors they recalled him to life for a moment. He just recovered his speech enough to tell them that an army of 10,000 French was at the gates, and expired. The governor immediately dispatched orders to the advanced guard to come within the walls with all expedition. Notwithstanding their precipitate retreat, the French had time to attack their rear. A few

moments later, they would have been defeated, and the city retaken.

The assailants, however, marched on with an intrepidity which seemed as if they expected every thing from their valour, and thought no more of a surprize. They were within a league of the town, when they were met by a body of 4000 men, who were sent out to stop them. The onset was sharp, and the resistance obstinate. The English were driven back within their walls, leaving 1800 of their bravest men upon the spot, and their artillery in the enemy's hands.

The trenches were immediately opened before Quebec; but as they had none but field-pieces, as no succours came from France, and as a strong English squadron was coming up the river, they were obliged to raise the siege on the 16th of May, and to retreat from post to post, as far as Montreal. Three formidable armies, one of which was come down, and another up the river, and a third proceeded over the lake Champlain, surrounded these troops, which were not very numerous at first, were now exceedingly reduced by frequent skirmishes and continual fatigues, and were in want both of provisions and warlike stores. These miserable remains of a body of 7000 men, who had never been recruited, and had so much signalized themselves, with the help of a few militia and a few Indians, were at last forced to capitulate, and for the whole colony. The conquest was confirmed by the treaty of peace, and this country increased the possessions of the British in North-America.

CHAP.

C H A P. XII.

CANADA is ceded to BRITAIN. What advantages she might derive from that possession.

THE acquisition of an immense territory is not the only advantage accruing to Great Britain from the success of her arms. The considerable population she has found there is of still greater importance. Some of these numerous inhabitants, it is true, have fled from a new dominion, which admitted no other difference among men but such as arose from personal qualities, education, fortune, or the property of being useful to society. But the emigration of these contemptible persons, whose importance was founded on nothing but barbarous custom, cannot surely have been considered as a misfortune. Would not the colony have been much benefited by getting rid of that indolent nobility that had encumbered it so long, of that proud nobility that kept up the contempt for all kinds of labour? The only things necessary to make the colony prosper, are, that its lands should be cleared, its forests cut down, its iron mines worked, its fisheries extended, its industry and exportations improved.

The province of Canada has been convinced of this truth. And indeed, notwithstanding the ties of blood, language, religion, and government, which are usually so strong; notwithstanding that variety of connections and prejudices which assume so powerful an ascendancy over the minds of men; the Canadians have not shewn much concern at the violent separation by which they were detached from their ancient country. They have readily concurred in the means employed

by the English ministry to establish their happiness and liberty upon a solid foundation.

The laws of the English admiralty were first given them. But this innovation was scarcely perceived by them; because it scarce concerned any except the conquerors, who were in possession of all the maritime trade of the colony.

They have paid more attention to the establishment of the criminal laws of England, which was one of the most happy circumstances Canada could experience. To the impenetrable mysterious transactions of a cruel inquisition, succeeded a cool, rational, and public trial; a tribunal dreadful and accustomed to shed blood was replaced by human judges, more disposed to acknowledge innocence than to suppose criminality.

The conquered people have been still more delighted on finding the liberty of their persons secured for ever by the famous law of Habeas Corpus. As they had too long been victims of the arbitrary wills of those who governed them, they have blessed the beneficent hand that drew them from a state of slavery, to put them under the protection of the laws.

The attention of the British ministry was afterwards taken up in supplying Canada with a code of civil laws. This important work, though intrusted to able industrious, and upright lawyers, hath not yet obtained the sanction of government. If the success answers the expectations, a colony will at last be found which will have a legislative system adapted to its climate, its population, and its labours.

Independent of these parental views, Great Britain has thought in her political interest to introduce, by secret springs, among her new subjects, an inclination for the customs, the language, the worship, and the opinions, of the mother country. This kind of analogy is, in fact, generally, speaking, one of the strongest

est bands that can attach the colonies to the mother country. But we imagine that the present situation of things ought to have occasioned a preference to another system. Britain has at this time so much reason to be apprehensive for the spirit of independence which prevails in North America, that perhaps it would have been more for her advantage to maintain Canada in a kind of distinct state from the other provinces, rather than bring them nearer to each other by affinities which may one day unite them too closely.

However this may be, the British ministry have given the English government to Canada, so far as it was consistent with an authority entirely regal, and without any mixture of a popular administration. Their new subjects, secure from the fear of future wars, eased of the burden of defending distant posts which removed them far from their habitations, and deprived of the fur-trade which has returned into its natural channel, have only to attend to their cultures. As these advance, their intercourse with Europe and with the Caribbee islands will increase, and soon become very considerable. It will for the future be the only resource of a vast country, into which France formerly poured immense sums, considering it as the chief bulwark of her southern islands.

B O O K IV.

GENERAL
REFLECTIONS AND REMARKS
ON ALL THE COLONIES.

I.

*Extent of the BRITISH DOMINIONS in
NORTH AMERICA.*

THE two Floridas, part of Louisiana, and all Canada, obtained at the same æra either by conquest or treaty, have rendered Britain mistress of all that space which extends from the river St Lawrence to the Mississippi; so that, without reckoning Hudson's Bay, Newfoundland, and the other islands of North America, she is in possession of the most extensive empire that ever was formed upon the face of the globe. This vast territory is divided from north to south by a chain of high mountains, which, alternately receding from and approaching the coast, leave between them and the ocean a rich tract of land of an hundred and fifty, two hundred, and sometimes three hundred miles in breadth. Beyond these Apalachian mountains is an immense desert, into which some travellers have ventured as far as eight hundred leagues without finding an end to it. It is supposed that the rivers at the extremity of these uncultivated regions have a communication with the South Sea. If this conjecture, which is not destitute of probability should be confirmed by experience, Britain would unite in her colonies
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all the branches of communication and commerce of the new world. By her territories, extending from one American sea to the other, she may be said to join the four quarters of the world. From all her European ports from all her African settlements, she freights and sends out ships to the new world. From her maritime settlements in the East she would have a direct channel to the West Indies by the Pacific ocean. She would discover those slips of land or branches of the sea, the isthmus or the strait which lies between the northern extremities of Asia and America. By the vast extent of her colonies she would have in her own power all the avenues of trade, and would secure all the advantages of it by her numerous fleets. Perhaps by having the empire of all the seas, she might aspire to the supremacy of both worlds. But it is not in the destiny of any single nation to attain to such a pitch of greatness. Is then extent of dominion so flattering an object, when conquests are made only to be lost again? Let the Romans speak! Does it constitute power to possess such a share of the globe that some part shall always be enlightened by the rays of the sun, if while we reign in one world we are to languish in obscurity in the other? Let the Spaniards answer!

The English will be happy if they can preserve, by the means of culture and navigation, an empire which must ever be found too extensive when it cannot be maintained without bloodshed. But as this is the price which ambition must always pay for the success of its enterprizes, it is by commerce alone that conquests can become valuable to a maritime power. Never did war procure for any conqueror a territory more improveable by human industry than that of the northern continent of America. Although the land in general is so low near the sea, that in many parts it is scarcely distinguishable from the top of the main mast, even
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after bringing in fourteen fathom, yet the coast is very easy of access, because the depth diminishes insensibly as you advance. From this circumstance it is easy to determine exactly by the line the distance of the main land. Besides this the mariner has another sign, which is the appearance of trees, that, seeming to arise out of the sea, from an enchanting object to his view upon a shore which presents roads and harbours without number for the reception and preservation of shipping.

The productions of the earth arise in great abundance from a soil newly cleared; but in return they are a long time of coming to maturity. Many plants are even so late in flower, that the winter prevents their ripening; while, on our continent, both the fruit and the seed of them are gathered in a more northern latitude. What should be the cause of this phenomenon? Before the arrival of the Europeans, the North Americans, living upon the produce of their hunting and fishery, left their lands totally uncultivated. The whole country was covered with woods and thickets. Under the shade of these forests grew a multitude of plants. The leaves, which fell every winter from the trees, formed a bed three or four inches thick. Before the damps had quite rotted this species of manure the summer came on; and nature, left entirely to herself, continued heaping incessantly upon each other these effects of her fertility. The plants buried under wet leaves, through which they with difficulty made their way in a long course of time, became accustomed to a slow vegetation. The force of culture has not yet been able to subdue this habit fixed and confirmed by ages, nor have the dispositions of nature given way to the influence of art. But this climate, so long unknown or neglected by mankind, presents them with advantages which supply the defects and ill consequences of that omission. U.

II.

TREES *peculiar to* NORTH AMERICA.

IT produces almost all the trees that are natives of our climate. It has also others peculiar to itself, among these are the sugar maple, and the candleberry myrtle. The candleberry myrtle is a shrub which delights in a moist soil; and is, therefore, seldom found at any distance from the sea. Its seeds are covered with a white powder, which looks like flour. When they are gathered towards the end of autumn, and put into boiling water, there rises a viscous body, which swims at the top, and is skimmed off. As soon as this is come to a consistence, it is commonly of a dirty green colour. To purify it, it is boiled a second time; when it becomes transparent, and of an agreeable green.

This substance, which in quality and consistence is a medium between tallow and wax, supplied the place of both to the first Europeans that landed in this country. The dearth of it has occasioned it to be the less used, in proportion as the number of domestic animals hath increased. Nevertheless, as it burns slower than tallow, is less subject to melt, and has not that disagreeable smell, it is still preferred, wherever it can be procured at a moderate price. The property of giving light is, of all its uses, the least valuable. It serves to make excellent soap and plasters for wounds: it is even employed for the purpose of sealing letters. The sugar maple does not merit less attention than the candleberry myrtle, as may be conceived from its name.

This tree, whose nature it is to flourish by the side of streams, or in marshy places, grows to the height of an oak. In the month of March, an incision of the depth of three or four inches is made in the lower part of the trunk. A pipe is put into the orifice, thro' which the juice, that flows from it, is conveyed into a vessel placed to receive it. The young trees are so full of this liquor, that in half an hour they will fill a quart bottle. The old ones afford less, but of a much better quality. No more than one incision or two at most can be made without draining and weakening the tree. If three or four pipes are applied, it soon dies.

The sap of this tree has naturally the flavour of honey. To reduce it to sugar, they evaporate it by fire, till it has acquired the consistence of a thick syrup. It is then poured into moulds of earthen ware or bark of the birch-tree. The syrup hardens as it cools, and becomes a red kind of sugar, almost transparent, and pleasant enough to the taste. To give it a whiteness, they sometimes mix up flour with it in the making; but this ingredient always changes the flavour of it. This kind of sugar is used for the same purposes as that which is made from canes; but eighteen or twenty pounds of juice go to the making of one pound of sugar, so that it can be of no great use in trade.

III.

BIRDS peculiar to NORTH AMERICA.

A MIDST the multitude of birds which inhabit the forests of North America, there is one extremely singular in its kind. This is the humming bird; a species of which, on account of its smallness, is called by the French *Poiseau mouche*, or the fly bird. Its beak is long, and pointed like a needle; and its claws are not thicker than a common pin. Upon its head it has a black tuft, of incomparable beauty. Its breast is of a rose colour, and its belly white as milk. The back, wings, and tail, are grey, bordered with silver, and streaked with the brightest gold. The down, which covers all the plumage of this little bird, gives it so delicate a cast, that it resembles a velvet flower, whose beauty fades on the slightest touch.

The spring is the only season for this charming bird. Its nest, perched on the middle of a bough, is covered on the outside with a grey and greenish moss, and on the inside lined with a very soft down gathered from yellow flowers. This nest is half an inch in depth, and about an inch in diameter. There are never found more than two eggs in it, about the size of the smallest peas. Many attempts have been made to rear the young ones; but they have never lived more than three weeks, or a month at most.

The humming bird lives entirely on the juice of flowers, fluttering from one to another, like the bees. Sometimes it buries itself in the calix of the largest flowers. Its flight produces a buzzing noise like that of a spinning-wheel. When it is tired, it lights upon the nearest tree or stake; rests a few minutes, and flies again to the flowers. Notwithstanding its weakness, it
does

does not appear timid ; but will suffer a man to approach within eight or ten feet of it.

Who would imagine, that so diminutive an animal could be malicious, passionate, and quarrelsome ? They are often seen fighting together with great fury and obstinacy. The strokes they give with their beak are so sudden and so quick, that they are not distinguishable by the eye. Their wings move with such agility, that they seem not to move at all. They are more heard than seen ; and their noise resembles that of a sparrow.

These little birds are all impatience. When they come near a flower, if they find it faded and withered, they tear all the leaves asunder. The precipitation, with which they peck it, betrays, as it is said, the rage with which they are animated. Towards the end of the summer, thousands of flowers may be seen stript of all their leaves by the fury of the fly-birds. It may be doubted, however, whether this mark of resentment is not rather an effect of hunger than of an unnecessarily destructive instinct.

North America formerly was devoured by insects. As the air was not yet purified, nor the ground cleared, nor the woods cut down, nor the waters drained off, these little animals destroyed, without opposition, all the productions of nature. None of them was useful to mankind. There is only one at present, which is the bee : but this is supposed to have been carried from the old to the new world. The savages call it, the *English-fly* ; and it is only found near the coasts. These circumstances announce it to be of foreign original. The bees fly in numerous swarms through the forests of the new world. They increase every day. Their honey is employed to several uses. Many persons make it their food. The wax becomes daily a more considerable branch of trade.

IV.

The ENGLISH supply NORTH AMERICA with domestic animals.

THE bee is not the only present which Europe has had in her power to make to America. She has enriched her also with a breed of domestic animals; for the savages had none. America had not yet associated beasts with men in the labours of cultivation, when the Europeans carried over thither in their ships several of our species of domestic animals. They have multiplied there prodigiously; but all of them, excepting the hog, whose whole merit consists in fattening himself, have lost much of that strength and size which they enjoyed in those countries from whence they were brought. The oxen, horses, and sheep, have degenerated in the northern British colonies, though the particular kinds of each had been chosen with great precaution.

Without doubt, it is the climate, the nature of the air and the soil, which has prevented the success of their transplantation. These animals, as well as the men were at first attacked by epidemical disorders. If the contagion did not, as in the men, affect the principles of generation in them, several species of them at least were with much difficulty reproduced. Each generation fell short of the last; and as it happens to American plants in Europe, European cattle continually degenerated in America. Such is the law of climates, which wills every people, every animal and vegetable species, to grow and flourish in its native soil. The love of their own country seems an ordinance of nature prescribed to all beings, like the desire of preserving their existence.

V.

EUROPEAN *Grain carried into NORTH AMERICA*
by the ENGLISH

YET there are certain correspondences of climate which form exceptions to the general rule against transporting animals and plants. When the English first landed on the North American continent, the wandering inhabitants of those desolate regions had scarcely arrived at the cultivation of a small quantity of maize. This species of corn, unknown at that time in Europe, was the only one known in the new world. The culture of it was by no means difficult. The savages contented themselves with taking off the turf, making a few holes in the ground with a stick, and throwing into each of them a single grain, which produced two hundred and fifty or three hundred. The method of preparing it for food was not more complicated. They pounded it in a wooden or stone mortar, and made it into a paste, which they baked under embers. They ate it boiled, or toasted merely upon the coals.

The maize has many advantages. Its leaves are useful in feeding cattle; a circumstance of great moment where there are very few meadows. A hungry, light, sandy soil agrees best with this plant. The seed may be frozen in the spring two or three times without impairing the harvest. In short, it is of all plants the one that is least injured by the excess of drought or moisture.

These causes, which introduced the cultivation of it in that part of the world, induced the English to preserve and even promote it in their settlements. They sold it to Portugal, to South America, and the sugar
islands,

islands, and had sufficient for their own use. They did not, however neglect to enrich their plantations with European grains; all of which succeeded, though not so perfectly as in their native soil. With the superfluity of their harvests, the produce of their herds, and the clearing of the forests, the colonists formed a trade with all the wealthiest and most populous provinces of the new world.

The mother country, finding that her northern colonies had supplanted her in her trade with South America and fearing that they would soon become her rivals even in Europe at all the markets for salt and corn, endeavoured to divert their industry to objects that might be more useful to her. She wanted neither motives nor means to bring about this purpose, and had soon an opportunity to carry it into execution.

VI.

The ENGLISH find the necessity of having their naval stores from AMERICA.

THE greatest part of the pitch and tar the English wanted for their fleets, used to be furnished by Sweden. In 1703, that state was so blind to its true interest, as to lay this important branch of commerce under the restrictions of an exclusive patent. The first effect of this monopoly was a sudden and unnatural increase of price. England, taking advantage of this blunder of the Swedes, encouraged by considerable premiums the importation of all sorts of naval stores which North America could furnish.

These rewards did not immediately produce the effect that was expected from them. A bloody war, raging in each of the four quarters of the world, prevented

vented both the mother country and the colonies from giving to this infant revolution of commerce the attention which it merited. The northern nations, whose interests were united, taking this inaction, which was only occasioned by the hurry of a war, for an absolute proof of inability, thought they might without danger lay upon the exportation of marine stores every restrictive clause that could contribute to enhance the price of them. For this end they entered into mutual engagements, which were made public in 1718, a time when all the maritime powers still felt the effects of a war that had continued fourteen years.

England was alarmed by so odious a convention. She dispatched to America men of sufficient ability to convince the inhabitants how necessary it was for them to assist the views of the mother country; and of sufficient experience to direct their first attempts towards great objects, without making them pass through those minute details, which quickly extinguish an ardour excited with difficulty. In a very short time such quantities of pitch, tar, turpentine, yards and masts, were brought into the harbours of Great Britain, that she was enabled to supply the nations around her.

This sudden success blinded the British government. The cheapness of the commodities furnished by the colonies, in comparison of those which were brought from the baltic, gave them an advantage which seemed to insure a constant preference. Upon this the ministry concluded that the bounties might be withdrawn. But they had not taken into their calculation the difference of freight, which was entirely in favour of their rivals. A total stop ensued in this branch of trade, and made them sensible of their error. In 1729 they revived the bounties; which, tho' they were

not laid so high as formerly, were sufficient to give to the vent of American stores the greatest superiority, at least in England, over those of the northern nations.

The woods, though they constituted the principal riches of the colonies, had hitherto been overlooked by the governors of the mother country. The produce of them had long been exported by the English to Spain, Portugal and the different markets in the Mediterranean, where it was bought up for building and other uses. As these traders did not take in return merchandise sufficient to complete their cargoes, it had been a practice with the Hamburgers, and even the Dutch, to import on their bottoms the produce of the most fertile climates of Europe. This double trade of export and carrying had considerably augmented the British navy. The parliament, being informed of this advantage, in the year 1722, immediately exempted the timber of the colonies from all those duties of importation, which Russian, Swedish, and Danish timber are subject to. This first favour was followed by a bounty, which, at the same time that it comprehended every species of wood in general, was principally calculated for those which are employed in ship-building. An advantage, so considerable in itself as this was, would have been greatly improved, if the colonies had built among themselves vessels proper for transporting cargoes of such weight: if they had made wood-yards, from which they might have furnished complete freights; and, finally, if they had abolished the custom of burning in the spring the leaves which had fallen in the preceding autumn. This foolish practice destroys all the young trees, that are beginning in that season to shoot out; and leaves only the old ones, which are too rotten for use. It is notorious, that vessels con-

structed in America, or with American materials, last but a very short time. This inconvenience may arise from several causes; but that which has just been mentioned merits the greater attention, as it may be easily remedied. Besides timber and masts for ships, America is capable of furnishing likewise sails and rigging, by the cultivation of hemp and flax.

The French protestants, who, when driven from their country by a victorious prince fallen into a state of bigotry, carried their national industry every where into the country of his enemies, taught England the value of two commodities of the utmost importance to a maritime power. Both flax and hemp were cultivated with some success in Scotland and Ireland. Yet the manufactures of the nation were chiefly supplied with both from Russia. To put a stop to this foreign importation, it was proposed to grant a bounty to North America of 6*l.* for every ton of these articles. But habit, which is an enemy to all novelties, however useful, prevented the colonists at first from being allured by this bait. They are since reconciled to it; and the produce of their flax and hemp serves to keep at home a considerable part of 1,968,750*l.* which went annually out of Great Britain for the purchase of foreign linens. It may, perhaps, in time be improved so far as to be equal to the whole demand of the kingdom, and even to supplant other nations in all the markets. A soil entirely fresh, which costs nothing, does not stand in need of manure, is intersected by navigable rivers, and may be cultivated by slaves, affords ground for immense expectations. To the timber and canvas requisite for shipping we have yet to add iron. The northern parts of America furnish this commodity, to assist in acquiring the gold and silver which so abundantly flow in the southern.

VII.

ENGLAND begins to get Iron from NORTH AMERICA.

THIS most useful of metals, so necessary to mankind, was unknown to the Americans, till the Europeans taught them the most fatal use of it, that of making weapons. The English themselves long neglected the iron mines, which nature had lavished on the continent where they were settled. That channel of wealth had been diverted from the mother country by being clogged with enormous duties. The proprietors of the national mines sided by those of the coppice woods; which are used in the working of them, had procured imposts to be laid on them that amounted to a prohibition. By corruption, intrigue and sophistry, these enemies to the public good had stifled a competition, which would have been fatal to their interests. At length the government took the first steps towards a right conduct. The importation of American iron into the port of London was granted duty-free; but at the same time it was forbid to be carried to any other ports, or even more than ten miles inland. This whimsical restriction continued till 1757. At that time the general voice of the people called upon the parliament to repeal an ordinance so manifestly contrary to every principle of public utility, and to extend to the whole kingdom a privilege which had been granted exclusively to the capital.

Though nothing could be more reasonable than this demand, it met with the strongest opposition. Combinations of interested individuals were formed to represent, that the hundred and nine forges wrought in England, not reckoning those of Scotland, produced annually eighteen thousand tons of iron, and employed

ployed a great number of able workmen; that the mines, which were inexhaustible, would have supplied a much greater quantity, had not a perpetual apprehension prevailed that the duties on American iron would be taken off; that the iron works carried on in England consumed annually one hundred and ninety-eight thousand cords of underwood, and that those woods furnished moreover bark for the tanneries and materials for ship building; and that the American iron, not being proper for steel for making sharp instruments or many of the utensils of navigation, would contribute very little to lessen the importation from abroad, and would have no other effect than that of putting a stop to the forges of Great Britain.

These groundless representations had no weight with the parliament who saw clearly, that, unless the price of the original materials could be lessened, the nation would soon lose the numberless manufactures of iron and steel, by which it had so long been enriched, and that there was no time to be lost in putting a stop to the progress other nations by their industry had made in it. It was therefore resolved, that the free importation of iron from America should be permitted in all the ports of England. This wise resolution was accompanied with an act of justice. The proprietors of coppices were by the statute of Henry VIII forbidden to clear their lands: the parliament took off this prohibition, and left them at liberty to make such use of their estates as they should think proper.

Previous to these regulations, Great Britain used to pay annually to Spain, Norway, Sweden, and Russia, 437,500*l.* for the iron she purchased of them. This tribute is greatly lessened, and will lessen still more. The ore is found in such quantities in America and is so easily separated from the ground, that the English do not despair of having it in their power to furnish

SETTLEMENTS IN AMERICA. 281

furnish Portugal, Turkey, Africa, the East Indies, and every country in the world with which they have any commercial connections.

Perhaps the English may be too sanguine in their representations of the advantages they expect from so many articles of importance to their navy. But it is sufficient for them, if by the assistance of their colonies they can free themselves from that dependence in which the northern powers of Europe have hitherto kept them with regard to the equipment of their fleets. Formerly their operations might have been prevented, or at least interrupted, by a refusal of the necessary materials. From this time nothing will be able to check their natural ardour for the dominion of the sea, which alone can insure to them the empire of the new world.

VIII.

ENGLAND endeavours to procure Wine and Silk from NORTH AMERICA.

AFTER having paved the way to that grand object, by forming a free, independent navy, superior to that of every other nation; England has adopted every measure that can contribute to her enjoyment of this species of conquest she has made in America, less by the force of her arms than of her industry. By bounties, judiciously bestowed, she has succeeded so far as to draw annually from that country twenty million weight of potashes. The greatest progress has been made in the cultivation of rice, indigo, and tobacco. In proportion as the settlements, from their natural tendency, stretched further towards the south, fresh projects and enterprizes suitable to the nature of the soil suggested themselves. In the temperate and in the

the hot climates, the several productions were expected which necessarily reward the labours of the cultivator. Wine was the only article that seemed to be wanting to the new hemisphere; and the English, who have none in Europe, were eager to produce some in America.

Upon that immense continent the English are in possession of, are found prodigious quantities of wild vines, which bear grapes differing in colour, size, and quantity, but all of a sour and disagreeable flavour. It was supposed that good management would give these plants that perfection which unassisted nature had denied them; and French vine-dressers were invited into a country, where neither public nor private impositions took away their inclination to labour by depriving them of the fruits of their industry. The repeated experiments they made both with American and European plants, were all equally unsuccessful. The juice of the grape was too watery, too weak, and almost impossible to be preserved in a hot climate. The country was too full of woods, which attract and confine the moist and hot vapours; the seasons were too unsettled, and the insects too numerous near the forests to suffer a production to expand and prosper, of which the British, and all other nations who have it not, are so ambitious. The time will come, perhaps, tho' it will be long, when their colonies will furnish them with a beverage, which they envy and purchase from France, repining inwardly that they are obliged to contribute towards enriching a rival, whom they are anxious to ruin. This disposition is cruel. Britain has other more gentle and more honourable means of attaining that prosperity she is ambitious of. Her emulation may be better and more usefully exerted on an article now cultivated in each of the four quarters of the globe: this is silk the work of that
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little worm which clothes mankind with the leaves of trees digested in its entrails; silk! that double prodigy of nature and of art.

A very considerable sum of money is annually exported from Great Britain for the purchase of this rich production; which gave rise about thirty years ago to a plan for obtaining silk from Carolina. The mildness of the climate, and the great abundance of mulberry-trees, seemed favourable to the project. Some attempts made by the government to attract some Switzers into the colony, were more successful than could have been expected. Yet the progress of this branch of trade has not been answerable to so promising a beginning. The blame has been laid on the inhabitants of the colony, who buying only negroe men, from whom they received an immediate and certain profit, neglected to have women, who with their children might have been employed in bringing up silk-worms, an occupation suitable to the weakness of that sex, and to the tenderest age. But it ought to have been considered, that men coming from another hemisphere into a rude uncultivated country would apply their first care to the cultivation of esculent plants, breeding cattle, and the toils of immediate necessity. This is the natural and constant proceeding of well-governed states. From agriculture which is the source of population, they rise to the arts of luxury; and the arts of luxury nourish commerce, which is the child of industry and the father of wealth. The time is, perhaps come, when Britain may employ whole colonies in the cultivation of silk. This is, at least, the national opinion. On the 18th of April 1769, the parliament granted a bounty of 25 *per cent.* for seven years on all raw silks imported from the colonies; a bounty of 20 *per cent.* for seven years following, and for seven years after that a bounty of 15 *per cent.*

cont. If this encouragement produces such improvements as may reasonably be expected from it, the next step undoubtedly will be the cultivation of cotton and olive trees, which seem particularly adapted to the climate and soil of the British colonies. There are not perhaps, any rich productions either in Europe or Asia, but what may be transplanted and cultivated with success on the vast continent of North America, as soon as population shall have provided hands in proportion to the extent and fertility of so rich a territory. The great object of the mother country at present is the peopling of her colonies.

IX.

What kind of Men BRITAIN peoples her North American Colonies with.

THE first persons who landed in the desert and savage region were Englishmen who had been persecuted at home for their civil and religious opinions.

It was not to be expected that this first emigration would be attended with important consequences. The inhabitants of Great Britain are so strongly attached to their native soil, that nothing less than civil wars or revolutions can induce those among them who have any property, character, or industry, to a change of climate and country; for which reason the re-establishment of public tranquillity in Europe was likely to put an unsurmountable bar to the progress of American cultivation.

Add to this, that the English, though naturally active, ambitious, and enterprising, were ill-adapted to the business of clearing the grounds. Accustomed to a quiet life, ease, and many conveniences, nothing

SETTLEMENTS IN AMERICA. 285

but the enthusiasm of religion or politics could support them under the labours, miseries, wants, and calamities, inseparable from new plantations.

It is further to be observed, that though England might have been able to overcome these difficulties, it was not a desirable object for her. Without doubt, the founding of colonies, rendering them flourishing, and enriching herself with their productions, was an advantageous prospect to her; but those advantages would be dearly purchased at the expence of her own population.

Happily for her, the intolerant and despotic spirit, that swayed most countries of Europe, forced numberless victims to take refuge in an uncultivated tract, which, in its state of desolation, seemed to implore that assistance for itself which it offered to the unfortunate. These men, who had escaped from the rod of tyranny, in crossing the seas, abandoned all hopes of return, and attached themselves for ever to a country which at the same time afforded them an asylum and an easy quiet subsistence. Their good fortune could not remain for ever unknown. Multitudes flocked from different parts to partake of it. Nor has this eagerness abated, particularly in Germany, where nature produces men for the purposes either of conquering or cultivating the earth. It will even increase. The advantage granted to emigrants throughout the British dominions of being naturalized by a residence of seven years in the colonies, sufficiently warrants this prediction.

While tyranny and persecution were destroying population in Europe, British America was beginning to be peopled with three sorts of inhabitants. The first class consists of freemen. It is the most numerous; but hitherto it has visibly degenerated. The Creoles in general, though habituated to the climate
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from their cradle, are not so robust and fit for labour, nor so powerful in war, as the Europeans; whether it be that they have not the improvements of education, or that they are softened by nature. In that foreign clime the mind is enervated as well as the body: endued with a quickness and early penetration, it easily apprehends, but wants steadiness, and is not used to continued thought. It must be a matter of astonishment to find that America has not yet produced a good poet, an able mathematician, or a man of genius in any single art or science. They possess in general a readiness for acquiring the knowledge of every art or science, but not one of them shews any decisive talent for one in particular. More early advanced at first, and arriving at a state of maturity sooner than we do, they are much behind us in the later part of life.

Perhaps it will be said, that their population is not very numerous in comparison with that of all Europe together; that they want aids, masters, models, instruments, emulation in the arts and sciences; that education with them is too much neglected, or too little improved. But we may observe, that in proportion we see more persons in America of good birth, of an easy competent fortune, with a greater share of leisure and of other means of improving their natural abilities, than are found in Europe, where even the very method of training up youth is often repugnant to the progress and unfolding of reason and genius. Is it possible, that although the Creoles educated with us have every one of them good sense, or at least the most part of them, yet not one should have arisen to any great degree of perfection in the slightest pursuit; and that among such as have staid in their own country no one has distinguished himself by a confirmed superiority in those talents which lead

to fame? Has nature, then, punished them for having crossed the ocean? Are they a race of people degenerated by transplanting, by growth, and by mixture? Will not time be able to reduce them to the nature of their climate? Let us beware of pronouncing on futurity, before we have the experience of several centuries. Let us wait till a more ample burst of light has shone over the new hemisphere. Let us wait till education may have corrected the unsurmountable tendency of the climate towards the enervating pleasures of luxury and sensuality. Perhaps we shall then see that America is propitious to genius and the arts, that give birth to peace and society. A new Olympus, an Arcadia, an Athens, a new Greece, will produce, perhaps, on the continent, or in the Archipelago that surrounds it, another Homer, a Theocritus, and especially an Anacreon. Perhaps another Newton is to arise in New Britain. From British America, without doubt, will proceed the first rays of the sciences, if they are at length to break through a sky so long time clouded. By a singular contrast with the old world, in which the arts have travelled from the south towards the north, in the new one the north will be found to enlighten the southern parts. Let the British clear the ground, purify the air, alter the climate, improve nature, and a new universe will arise out of their hands for the glory and happiness of humanity. But it is necessary that they should take steps conformable to this noble design, and aim by just and laudable means to form a population fit for the creation of a new world. This is what they have not yet done.

The second class of their colonists was formerly composed of malefactors which the mother country transported after condemnation to America, and who were bound to a servitude of seven or fourteen years

to the planters who had purchased them out of the hands of justice. The disgust is grown universal against these corrupt men, always disposed to commit fresh crimes.

These have been replaced by indigent persons, whom the impossibility of subsisting in Europe has driven into the new world. Having embarked without being capable of paying for their passage, these wretches are at the disposal of their captain, who sells them to whom he pleases.

This sort of slavery is for a longer or shorter time; but it can never exceed eight years. If among these emigrants there are any who are not of age, their servitude lasts till they arrive at that period, which is fixed at twenty one for the boys, and eighteen for the girls.

None of those who are contracted for have a right to marry without the approbation of their master, who sets what price he chuses on his consent. If any of them runs away, and he is retaken, he is to serve a week for each day's absence, a month for every week and six months for one. The proprietor who does not think proper to receive again one who has deserted from his service, may sell him to whom he pleases, but only for the term of his first contract. Besides neither the service nor the sale, carry any ignominy with it. At the end of his servitude, the contracted person enjoys all the rights of a free denizen. With his freedom he receives from the master whom he has served, either implements for husbandry, or utensils proper for his work

But with whatever appearance of justice this species of traffic may be coloured, the greatest part of the strangers who go over to America under these conditions, would never set their foot on board a ship, if they were not inveigled away. Some artful kidnapers

pers from the fens of Holland spread themselves over the Palatinate, Suabia, and the cantons of Germany which are the best peopled or least happy. There they set forth with raptures the delights of the new world, and the fortunes easily acquired in that country. The simple men, seduced by these magnificent promises, blindly follow these infamous brokers engaged in this scandalous commerce, who deliver them over to factors at Amsterdam or Rotterdam. These, either in pay with the British government, or with companies who have undertaken to stock the colonies with people, give a gratuity to the men employed in this service. Whole families are sold, without their knowledge, to masters at a distance, who impose the harder conditions upon them, as hunger and necessity do not permit the sufferers to give a refusal. The British form their supplies of men for husbandry as princes do for war; for a purpose more useful and more humane, but by the same artifices. The deception is perpetually carried on in Europe, by the attention paid to the suppressing of all correspondence with America, which might unveil a mystery of imposture and iniquity too well disguised by the interested principles which gave rise to it.

But, in short, there would not be so many dupes, if there were fewer victims. It is the oppression of government which make these chimerical ideas of fortune be adopted by the credulity of the people. Men unfortunate in their private affairs, vagabonds, or contemptible at home, having nothing worse to fear in a foreign climate, easily give themselves up to the hope of a better lot. The means used to attain them in a country where chance has given him birth, are fit only to excite in them a desire to quit it. It is imagined that they are to be under the constant restraint of prohibitions, menaces, and punishments: these do but

exasperate them, and drive them to desertion by the very forbiddance of it. They should be attached by soothing means; by fair expectations; whereas they are imprisoned, and bound: man born free, is restrained from attempting to exist in regions where heaven and earth offer him an asylum. It has been thought better to stifle him in his cradle than to let him seek for his living in some climate that is ready to give him succour. It is not judged proper even to leave him the choice of his burial-place.— Tyrants in policy! these are the effects of your laws! People, where then are your rights?

Is it then become necessary to lay open to the nation the schemes that are formed against their liberty? Must they be told, that, by a conspiracy of the most odious nature, certain powers have lately entered into an agreement, which must deprive even despair itself of every resource? For these two centuries past, all the princes of Europe have been fabricating among them in the secret recesses of the cabinet that long and heavy chain with which the people are encompassed on every side. At every negotiation fresh links were added to the chain so artificially contrived. Wars tended not to make states more extensive, but subjects more submissive, by gradually substituting military government in lieu of the mild and gentle influence of laws and morality. The several potentates have all equally strengthened themselves in their tyranny by their conquests or by their losses. When they were victorious, they reigned by their armies; when humbled by defeat, they held the command by the misery of their pusillanimous subjects; whether ambition made them competitors or adversaries, they entered into league or alliance only to aggravate the servitude of the people. If they chose to kindle war, or maintain peace, they were sure to turn to the advantage of their

their authority either the raising or debasing of their people. If they ceded a province, they exhausted every other to recover it, in order to make amends for their loss. If they acquired a new one, the haughtiness they affected out of it, was the occasion of cruelty and extortion within. They borrowed one of another by turns every art and invention, whether of peace or of war, that might concur sometimes to foment natural antipathy and rivalry, sometimes to obliterate the character of the nations; as if there had been a tacit agreement among the rulers to subject the nations, one by means of another, to the despotism they had constantly been preparing for them. Ye people who all groan more or less secretly, doubt not of your condition; those who never entertained any affection for you, are come now not to have any fear of you. In the extremity of wretchedness, one single resource remained for you, that of escape and emigration.—Even that has been shut against you.

Princes have agreed among themselves to restore to one another not only deserters, who for the most part, inlisted by compulsion or by fraud, have a good right to escape; not only rogues, who in reality ought not to find a refuge any where; but indifferently all their subjects, whatever may be the motive that obliged them to quit their country.

Thus all you unhappy labourers, who find neither subsistence nor work in your own countries, after they have been ravaged and rendered barren by the exactions of finance; thus ye die where ye had the misfortune to be born, ye have no refuge but under ground. All ye artists and workmen of every class harrassed by monopolists, who are refused the right of working at your own free disposal, without having purchased the privileges of your calling; ye who are kept for your whole life in the work-shop, for the purpose of

enriching a privileged factor; ye whom a countermourning leaves for months together without bread or wages; never expect to live out of a country where soldiers and guards keep you imprisoned; go wander in despair, and die of regret. If ye venture to groan, your cries will be re-echoed and lost in the depth of a dungeon; if ye make your escape, ye will be pursued even beyond mountains and rivers: ye will be sent back, or given up, bound hand and foot, to torture; and to that eternal restraint to which you have been condemned from your birth. Do you likewise, whom nature has endowed with a free spirit, independent of prejudice and error, who dare to think and talk like men, do you erase from your minds every idea of truth, nature, and humanity. Applaud every attack made on your country and your fellow-citizens, or else maintain a profound silence in the recesses of obscurity and concealment. All ye who were born in those barbarous states, where the condition for the mutual restoration of deserters has been entered into by the several princes, and sealed by a treaty; recollect the inscription Dante has engraved on the gate of his infernal region: *Voi ch' entrate, lasciate omai ogni speranza*: "You who enter here, may leave behind you every hope."

What! is there then no asylum remaining beyond the seas? Will not Britain open her colonies to those wretches, who voluntarily prefer her dominion to the insupportable yoke of their own country? What need has she of that infamous band of contracted slaves, kidnapped and debauched by the shameful means employed by every state to increase their armies? What need has she of those beings still more miserable, of whom she composes the third part of her American population? Yes, by an iniquity the more shocking as it is apparently the less necessary, her northern

colonies have had recourse to the traffic and slavery of the negroes. It will not be disowned, that they may be better fed, better clothed, less ill treated, and less overburdened with toil, than in the islands. The laws protect them more effectually, and they seldom become the victims of the barbarity or caprice of an odious tyrant. But still what must be the burden of a man's life who is condemned to languish in eternal slavery? Some humane sectaries, Christians who look for virtues in the gospel more than for opinions, have often been desirous of restoring to their slaves that liberty for which they cannot receive any adequate compensation; but they have been a long time withheld by a law of the state, which directed that an assignment of a sufficiency for subsistence should be made to those who were set at liberty.

Let us rather say, The convenient custom of being waited on by slaves; the fondness we have for power, which we attempt to justify by pretending to alleviate their servitude; the opinion so readily entertained, that they do not complain of a state which is by time changed into nature; these are the sophisms of self-love, calculated to appease the clamours of conscience. The generality of mankind are not born with evil dispositions, or prone to do ill by choice; but even among those whom nature seems to have formed just and good, there are but few who possess a soul sufficiently disinterested, courageous, and great, to do any good action, if they must sacrifice some advantage for it.

But still the quakers have just set an example which ought to make an epocha in the history of religion and humanity. In one of these assemblies, where every one of the faithful, who conceives himself moved by the impulse of the holy Spirit, has a right of speaking; one of the brethren, who was himself

undoubtedly inspired on this occasion, arose and said:

“ How long then shall we have two consciences, two
 “ measures, two scales; one in our own favour, one
 “ for the ruin of our neighbour, both equally false?
 “ Is it for us, brethren, to complain at this moment,
 “ that the parliament of Britain wishes to enslave us,
 “ and to impose upon us the yoke of subjects, with-
 “ out leaving us the rights of citizens; while for this
 “ century past, we have been calmly acting the part
 “ of tyrants, by keeping in bonds of the hardest sla-
 “ very men who are our equals and our brethren?
 “ What have those unhappy creatures done to us,
 “ whom nature hath separated from us by barriers
 “ so formidable, whom our avarice has sought after
 “ thro’ storms and wrecks, and brought away from
 “ the midst of their burning sands, or from their
 “ dark forests inhabited by tygers? What crime have
 “ they been guilty of, that they should be torn from
 “ a country which fed them without toil, and that
 “ they should be transplanted by us to a land where
 “ they perish under the labours of servitude? Father
 “ of heaven, what family hast Thou then created, in
 “ which the elder born, after having seized on the
 “ property of their brethren, are still resolved to
 “ compel them, with stripes, to manure with the
 “ blood of their veins and the sweat of their brow
 “ that very inheritance of which they have been
 “ robbed? Deplorable race! whom we render brutes,
 “ to tyrannize over them; in whom we extinguish
 “ every power of the soul, to load their limbs and
 “ their bodies with burdens; in whom we efface the
 “ image of God, and the stamp of manhood: a race
 “ mutilated and dishonoured as to the faculties of
 “ mind and body, throughout its existence, by us
 “ who are Christians and Britons! Britons, ye peo-
 “ ple favoured by Heaven, and respected on the seas,
 “ would

“ would ye be free and tyrants at the same instant ?
 “ No, brethren : it is time we should be consistent
 “ with ourselves. Let us set free those miserable
 “ victims of our pride : let us restore the negroes to
 “ liberty, which man should never take from man.
 “ May all Christian societies be induced by our ex-
 “ ample to repair an injustice authorized by the crimes
 “ and plunders of two centuries ! May men too long
 “ degraded, at length raise to Heaven their arms
 “ freed from chains, and their eyes bathed in tears
 “ of gratitude ! Alas ! the unhappy mortals have hi-
 “ therto shed no tears but those of despair !”

This discourse awakened remorse, and the slaves in
 Pennsylvania were set at liberty. A revolution so a-
 mazing must necessarily have been the work of a peo-
 ple inclined to toleration. But let us not expect simi-
 liar instances of heroism in those countries which are
 as deep sunk in barbarism by the vices attendant on
 luxury, as they have formerly been from ignorance.
 When a government, at once both priestly and mili-
 tary, has brought every thing, even the opinions of
 men, under its yoke ; when man, become an impostor,
 has persuaded the armed multitude that he holds from
 Heaven the right of oppressing the earth ; there is no
 shadow of liberty left for civilized nations : Why
 should they not take their revenge on the savage peo-
 ple of the torrid zone ?

X.

*Present state of Population in the BRITISH Provinces
of NORTH AMERICA.*

NOT to mention the population of the negroes, which may amount to 300,000 slaves, in 1750 a million of inhabitants were reckoned in the British provinces of North America. There must be now upwards of two millions; and it is proved by undeniable calculations, that the number of people doubles every 15 or 16 years in some of those provinces, and every 18 or 20 in others. So rapid an increase must have two sources. The first is that number of Irishmen, Jews, Frenchmen, Switzers, Palatines, Moravians, and Saltzburghers, who after having been worn out with the political and religious troubles they had experienced in Europe, have gone in search of peace and quietness in distant climates. The second source of that amazing increase is from the climate itself of the colonies, where experience has shewn that the people naturally doubled their numbers every five and twenty years. Mr Franklin's remarks will make these truths evident.

The numbers of the people, says that philosopher, increase every where in proportion to the number of marriages; and that number increases as the means of subsisting a family are rendered more easy. In a country where the means of subsistence abound, more people marry early. In a society, whose prosperity is a mark of its antiquity, the rich, alarmed at the expenses which female luxury brings along with it, are as late as possible in forming an establishment, which it is difficult to fix, and whose maintenance is costly; and the persons who have no fortunes pass their days in a celi-

celibacy which disturbs the married state. The masters have but few children, the servants have none at all, and the artificers are afraid of having any. This irregularity is so perceptible, especially in great towns, that families are not kept up sufficiently to maintain population in an even state, and that we constantly find there more deaths than births. Happily for us, that decay has not yet penetrated into the country, where the constant practice of making up the deficiency of the towns gives a little more scope for population. But the lands being every where occupied, and let at the highest rate, those who cannot arrive at property of their own, are hired by those who have property. Rivalship, owing to the multitude of workmen, lowers the price of labour; and the smallness of their profits takes away the desire and the hope, as well as the abilities requisite for increase by marriage. Such is the present state of Europe.

That of America presents an appearance of a quite contrary nature. Tracts of land, waste and uncultivated, are to be had, either for nothing; or so cheap, that a man of the least turn for labour, is furnished in a short time with an extent, which, while it is sufficient to rear a numerous family, will maintain his posterity for a considerable time. The inhabitants, therefore, of the new world, induced likewise by the climate, marry in greater numbers, and at an earlier time of life, than the inhabitants of Europe. Where one hundred enter in the married state in Europe, there are two hundred in America; and if we reckon four children to each marriage in our climates, we should allow, at least, eight in the new hemisphere. If we multiply these families by their produce, it will appear that in less than two centuries the British northern colonies will arrive at an immense degree of population, unless the mother country contrive some obstacles to impede its natural progress.

XI.

*Happiness of the Inhabitants in the BRITISH Colonies
of NORTH AMERICA.*

THEY are now peopled with healthy and robust men, of a stature above the common size. These Cicoles are more quick, and come to their full growth sooner than the Europeans: but they are not so long-lived. The low price of meat, fish, grain, game, fruits, cyder, vegetables, keeps the inhabitants in a great plenty of things merely for nourishment. It is necessary to be more careful with respect to clothing, which is still very dear, whether brought from Europe, or made in the country. Manners are in the state they should be among young colonies, and people given to cultivation, not yet polished nor corrupted by the resort of great cities. Throughout the families in general, their reigns oeconomy, neatness, and regularity. Gallantry and gaming, the passions of easy wealth, seldom break in upon that happy tranquillity. The sex are still what they should be, gentle, modest, compassionate, and useful; they are in possession of those virtues which continue the empire of their charms. The men are employed in their original duties, the care and improvement of their plantations, which will be the support of their posterity. The general sentiment of benevolence unites every family. Nothing contributes to this union so much as a certain equality of station, a security that arises from property, a general hope which every man has of increasing it, and the facility of succeeding in this expectation; in a word, nothing contributes to it so much as the reciprocal independence in which men all live, with respect to their wants, joined to the necessity of social connections for
the

the purposes of their pleasures. Instead of luxury, which brings misery in its train, instead of that afflicting and shocking contrast, an universal welfare, wisely dealt out in the original distribution of the lands, has by the influence of industry given rise in every breast to the desire of pleasing one another; a desire without doubt, more satisfactory than the secret disposition to injure our brethren, which is inseparable from an extreme inequality of fortune and condition. Men never meet without satisfaction when they are neither in the state of mutual distance which leads to indifference, nor in that way of rivalry which borders on hatred. They come nearer together, and collect in societies. In short, it is in the colonies that men lead such a country-life as was the original destination of mankind, best suited to the health and increase of the species: probably they enjoy all the happiness consistent with the frailty of human nature. We do not, indeed, find there those graces, those talents, those refined enjoyments, the means and expence of which wear out and fatigue the springs of the soul, and bring on the vapours of melancholy which so naturally follow an indulgence in ardent pleasure: but there are the pleasures of domestic life; the mutual attachments of parent and children; and conjugal love, that passion so pure and so delicious to the soul that can taste it and despise all other gratifications. This is the enchanting prospect exhibited throughout North America. It is in the wilds of Florida and Virginia, even in the forests of Canada, that men are enabled to continue to love their whole life long, what was the object of their first affection, innocence and virtue, which never entirely lose their beauty.

If any thing be wanting in British America, it is its not forming precisely one people. Families are there found sometimes re-united, sometimes dispersed, originated

ginating from all the different countries of Europe. These colonists, in whatever spot chance or discernment may have placed them, all preserve, with a prejudice not to be worn out, their mother tongue, the partialities and the customs of their own country. Separate schools and churches hinder them from mixing with the hospitable people, who hold out to them a place of refuge. Still estranged from this people by worship, by manners, and probably by their feelings, they harbour seeds of dissention that may one day prove the ruin and total overthrow of the colonies. The only preservative against this disaster depends entirely on the management of the ruling powers.

XII.

What kind of Government is established in the BRITISH Colonies of NORTH AMERICA.

BY ruling powers must not be understood those strange constitutions of Europe, which are a rude mixture of sacred and profane laws. British America was wise or happy enough not to admit any ecclesiastical power: being from the beginning inhabited by Presbyterians, she rejected with horror every thing that might revive the idea of it. All affairs that in the other parts of the globe depend on the tribunal of priests, are here brought before the civil magistrate or the national assemblies. The attempts made by those of the English church to establish their hierarchy in that country, have ever been abortive, notwithstanding the support given by the mother country: but still they have their share in the administration of business as well as those of other sects. None but catholics have been excluded, on account of their refusing those oaths which the public tranquility seemed

to require. In this view American government has deserved great commendation; but in other respects, it is not so well combined.

Policy, in its aim and principal object, resembles the education of children. They both tend to form men, and should be similar to each other in many respects. Savage people, first united in Society, require, as much as children, to be sometimes led on by gentle means, and sometimes restrained by compulsion. For want of experience, which alone forms our reason, as they are incapable of governing themselves throughout the changes of things and the various concerns that belong to a rising society, government should be enlightened with regard to them, and guide them by authority to years of maturity. Just so barbarous nations are under the rod, and as it were in the leading strings of despotism, till in the advance of society their interests teach them to conduct themselves

Civilized nations, like young men, more or less advanced not in proportion to their abilities, but from the conduct of their early education, as soon as they come to their own strength, and their own pretensions, require being managed and even respected by their governors. A son well educated should engage in no undertaking without consulting his father; a prince, on the contrary, should make no regulations without consulting his people. Further, the son, in resolutions where he follows the advice of his father, frequently hazards nothing but his own happiness; in all that a prince ordains, the happiness of his people is concerned. The opinion of the public, in a nation that thinks and speaks, is the rule of the government; and the prince should never shock that opinion without public reasons, nor strive against it without conviction. Government is to model all its forms according to that opinion: opinion, it is well known,

varies with manners, habits, and information. So that one prince may, without finding the least resistance, do an act of authority, not to be revived by his successor without exciting the public indignation. From whence does this difference arise? The predecessor cannot have shocked an opinion that was not sprung up in his time, while a succeeding prince may have openly counteracted it a century later. The first is I may be allowed the expression, without the knowledge of the public, may have taken a step whose violence he may have softened or made amends for by the happy success of his government; the other shall perhaps, have increased the public calamities by such unjust acts of wilful authority as may perpetuate its first abuses. Public remonstrance is generally the cry of opinion; and the general opinion is the rule of government; and because public opinion governs mankind, kings for this reason became rulers of men. Governments then, as well as opinions, ought to improve and advance to perfection. But what is the rule for opinions among an enlightened people? It is the permanent interest of society, the safety and advantage of the nation. This interest is modified by the turn of events and situations; public opinion and the form of the government follow these several modifications. This is the source of all the forms of government, established by the English, who are rational and free, throughout North America.

The government of Nova Scotia, of one of the provinces in New England, New York new Jersey, Virginia, the two Carolinas, and Georgia, is styled *royal*, because the king of England is there vested with the supreme authority. Representatives of the people form a lower house, as in the mother country: a select council, approved by the king, intended to support the prerogatives of the crown, represents the house of

PEERS,

peers, and maintains that representation by the fortune and rank of the most distinguished persons in the country, who are members of it. A governor convenes, prorogues, and dissolves their assemblies; gives or refuses assent to their deliberations, which receive from his approbation the force of law, till the king, to whom they are transmitted, has rejected them.

The second kind of government which takes place in the colonies, is known by the name of *proprietary government*. When the English first settled in those distant regions, a greedy, active court favourite easily obtained in those wastes, which were as large as kingdoms, a property and authority without bounds. A bow and a few skins, the only homage exacted by the crown, purchased for a man in power the right of sovereignty, or governing as he pleased, in an unknown country: such was the origin of government in the greater part of the colonies. At present Maryland and Pennsylvania are the only provinces under this singular form of government, or rather this irregular foundation of sovereignty. Maryland, indeed, differs from the rest of the provinces only by receiving its governor from the family of Baltimore, whose nomination is to be approved by the king. In Pennsylvania the governor named by the proprietary family, and confirmed by the crown, is not supported by a council which gives a kind of superiority; and he is obliged to agree with the commons, in whom is naturally vested all authority.

A third form, styled by the English, *charter government*, seems more calculated to aduce harmony in the constitution. After having been that of all the provinces of New England, it now subsists only in Connecticut and in Rhode island. It may be considered as a mere democracy. The inhabitants of them-

selves elect, depose all their officers, and make all laws they think proper, without being obliged to have the assent of the king, or his having any right to annul them.

At length the conquest of Canada, joined to the acquisition of Florida, has given rise to a form of legislation hitherto unknown throughout the realm of Great Britain. Those provinces have been put or left under the yoke of military, and consequently absolute authority. Without any right to assemble in a national body, they receive immediately from the court of London every motion of government.

This diversity of governments is not the work of the mother country. We do not find the traces of a reasonable, uniform, and regular legislation. It is a chance, climate, the prejudices of the times and of the founders of the colonies, that have produced this motley variety of constitutions. It is not for men, who are cast by chance upon a desert coast, to constitute a legislation.

All legislation, in its nature, should aim at the happiness of society. The means by which it is to attain that singular elevated point, depend entirely on its natural qualities. Climate, that is to say, the sky and the soil, are the first rule for the legislator. His resources dictate to him his duties. In the first instance, the local position should be consulted. A number of people thrown on a maritime coast, will have laws more or less relative to agriculture or navigation, in proportion to the influence the sea or land may have on the subsistence of the inhabitants who are to people that desert coast. If the new colony is led by the course of some large river far within land, a legislator ought to have regard to their race, and the degree of their fecundity, and the connections the

colony will have either within or without by the traffic of commodities most advantageous to its prosperity.

But it is especially in the distribution of property that the wisdom of legislation will appear. In general, and throughout all the countries in the world, when a colony is founded, land is to be given to every person, that is to say, to every one an extent sufficient for the maintenance of a family: more should be given to those who have abilities to make the necessary advances for improvement: some should be kept vacant for posterity, or for additional settlers, with which the colony may in time be augmented.

The first object of a rising colony is subsistence and population: the next is the prosperity likely to flow from these two sources. To avoid occasions of war, whether offensive or defensive; to turn industry towards those objects which produce most; not to form connections around them, except such as are unavoidable, and may be proportioned to the stability which the colony acquires by the number of its inhabitants and the nature of its resources; to introduce, above all things, a partial and local spirit in a nation which is going to be established, a spirit of union within, and of peace without; to refer every institution to a distant but lasting point; and to make every occasional law subservient to the settled regulation, which alone is to effect an increase of numbers, and to give stability to the settlement; these circumstances make no more than a sketch of a legislation.

The moral system is to be formed on the nature of the climate. A large field for population is at first to be laid open by facilitating marriage, which depends upon the facility of procuring subsistence. Sanctity of manners should be established by opinion. In a barbarous island, which is to be stocked with children, no more would be necessary than to leave the

first dawns of truth to enlarge themselves, as reason unfolds itself. With proper precautions against idle fears proceeding from ignorance, the errors of superstition should be removed, till that period when the warmth of the natural passions, fortunately uniting with the rational powers, dissipates every phantom. But when people, already advanced in life, are to be established in a new country, the ability of legislation consists in not leaving behind any injurious opinions or habits, which may be cured or corrected. If we wish that they should not be transmitted to posterity, we should watch over the second generation by a general and public education of the children. A prince or legislator should never found a colony, without previously sending thither some proper persons for the education of youth; that is, some governors rather than teachers: for it is of less moment to teach them what is good, than to guard them from evil. Good education arrives too late, when the people are already corrupted. The seeds of morality and virtue, sown in the infancy of a race already corrupted, are annihilated, in the early stages of manhood, by debauchery, and the contagion of such vices as have already become habitual in society. The best educated young men cannot come into the world without making engagements and contracting acquaintance, on which the remainder of their lives depends. If they marry, follow any profession or pursuit, they find the seeds of evil and corruption rooted in every condition: a conduct entirely opposite to their principles, example, and discourse, which disconcerts and combats their best resolutions.

But, in a rising colony, the influence of the first generation may be corrected by the manners of the succeeding. The minds of all are prepared for virtue by labour. The necessities of life remove all vices proceeding

ing from leisure. The overflowing of such population have a natural tendency towards the mother country, where luxury continually invites and seduces the rich and voluptuous planter. All means are open to the precautions of a legislator, who intends to refine the constitution and manners of the colony. Let them but have genius and virtue, the lands and the people he has to manage will suggest to his mind a plan of society, that a writer can only mark out in a vague manner, liable to all the uncertainty of hypotheses that are varied and complicated by an infinity of circumstances too difficult to be foreseen and put together.

But the first foundation of a society for cultivation or commerce is property. It is the seed of good and evil, natural or moral, consequent on the social state. Every nation seems to be divided into two irreconcilable parties. The rich and the poor, the men of property and the hirelings, that is to say, masters and slaves, from two classes of citizens, unfortunately in opposition with one another.

In vain have some modern authors wished by sophistry to establish a treaty of peace between these two states. The rich on all occasions are disposed to get a great deal from the poor at little expence; and the poor are ever inclined to set a higher value on their labour: while the rich man must always give the law in that too unequal bargain. Hence arises the system of counterpoise established in so many countries. The people have not desired to attack property which they considered as sacred; but they have made attempts to fetter it, and to check its natural tendency to absorb the whole. These counterpoises have almost always been ill applied, as they were but a feeble remedy against the original evil in society. It is then to the repartition of lands that a legislator will turn his principal

cipal attention. The more wisely that distribution shall be managed, the more simple, uniform, and precise, will be those laws of the country which principally conduce to the preservation of property.

The British colonies partake, in that respect, of the radical vice inherent in the ancient constitution of the mother country. As its present government is but a reformation of that feudal government which had oppressed all Europe, it still retains many usages, which, being originally but abuses of servitude, are still more sensible by their contrast with the liberty which the people have recovered. It has, therefore, been found necessary to join the laws which left many rights to the nobility, to those which modify, lessen, abrogate, or soften, the feudal rights. Hence so many laws of exception for one of the principle; so many of interpretation for one fundamental; so many new laws that are at variance with the old. So that it is agreed there is not in the whole world a code so diffuse, so perplexed, as that of the civil law of Great Britain. The wisest men of the enlightened nation have often exclaimed against this disorder. They have either not been heard, or the changes which have been produced by their remonstrances have only served to increase the confusion.

By their dependence and their ignorance, the colonies have blindly adopted that deformed and ill-digested mass whose burden oppressed their ancestors: they have added to that obscure heap of materials by every new law that the times, manners, and place, could introduce. From this mixture has resulted a chaos the most difficult to unfold; a collection of contradictions that require much pains to reconcile. Immediately there sprang up a numerous body of lawyers to devour the lands and inhabitants of those new-settled climates. The fortune and influence they have

acquired in a short time, have brought into subjection to their rapaciousness the valuable class of citizens employed in agriculture, commerce, in all the arts and toils most indispensably necessary for all society, but almost singularly essential to a rising community. To the severe evil of chicane, which has attached itself to the branches in order to seize on the fruit, has succeeded the scourge of finance, which preys on the heart and root of the tree.

XIII.

The Coin current in the BRITISH Colonies in NORTH AMERICA.

IN the origin of the colonies, the coin bore the same value as in the mother country. The scarcity of it soon occasioned a rise of one third. That inconvenience was not remedied by the abundance of specie which came from the Spanish colonies; because they were obliged to transmit that into England in order to pay for the merchandise they wanted from thence. This was a gulph that sucked up the circulation in the colonies. The confusion occasioned by this continual export furnished a pretence for the employing of paper-money.

These are two sorts of it. The first has in view the encouragement of agriculture trade, and industry. Every colonist who has more ambition than means, obtains from the province a paper credit, provided he consents to pay an interest of 5 *per-cent.* furnishes a sufficient mortgage, and agrees to repay every year a tenth of the capital borrowed. By means of this mark, which is received without dispute into the public treasury, and which their fellow-citizens cannot refuse, the business of private persons becomes more brisk and

easy.

easy. The government itself draws considerable advantages from this circulation; because as it receives interest and pays none, it can without the aid of taxes apply this fund to the important objects of public utility.

But there is another sort of paper, whose existence is solely owing to the necessities of government. The several provinces of America had formed projects and contracted engagements beyond their abilities. They thought to make good the deficiency of their money by credit. Taxes were imposed to liquidate those bills that pressed for payment; but before the taxes had produced that salutary effect, new wants came on, that required fresh loans. The debts, therefore, accumulated, and the taxes were not sufficient to answer them. At length, the amount of the government bills exceeded all bounds after the late hostilities, during which the colonies had raised and provided for 25,000 men, and contributed to all the expences of so long and obstinate a war. The paper thus sank into the utmost disrepute, though it had been introduced only by the consent of the several general assemblies, and that each province was to be answerable for what was of their own creation.

The parliament of Great Britain observed this confusion, and attempted to remedy it. They regulated the quantity of paper circulation each colony should create for the future; and, as far as their information went, proportioned the mass of it to their riches and resources. This regulation displeased all persons, and in the year 1769 it was softened.

Paper, of the usual figure of the coin, still continues to pass in all kinds of business. Each piece is composed of two round leaves, glued one on the other, and bearing on each side the stamp that distinguishes them. There are some of every value. Each
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province has a public building for the making of them, and private houses from whence they are distributed: the pieces, which are much worn or soiled, are carried to these houses, and fresh ones received in exchange. There never has been an instance of the officers employed in these exchanges having been guilty of the least fraud.

But this honesty is not sufficient for the prosperity of the colonies. Though for forty years their consumption has increased four times as much as their population, from whence it is apparent that the abilities of each subject are four times what they were; yet one may foretel, that these large establishments will never rise to that degree of splendour for which nature designs them, unless the fetters are broken which confine both their interior industry and their foreign trade.

XIV.

*The BRITISH Colonies in NORTH AMERICA are :
shackled in their Industry and Commerce.*

THE first colonists that peopled North America applied themselves in the beginning solely to agriculture. It was not long before they perceived that their exports did not enable them to buy what they wanted; and they, therefore, found themselves in a manner compelled to set up some rude manufactures. The interests of the mother country seemed hurt at this innovation. The circumstance was brought into parliament, and there discussed with all the attention it deserved. There were men bold enough to defend the cause of the colonists. They urged, that as the business of tillage did not employ men all the year round, it was tyranny to oblige them

to waste in idleness the time which the land did not require: that as the produce of agriculture and hunting did not furnish them to the extent of their wants, it was reducing them to misery to hinder the people from providing against them by a new species of industry: in short, that the prohibition of manufactures only tended to occasion the price of all provisions in a rising state to be enhanced; to lessen, or perhaps stop, the sale of them, and keep off such persons as might intend to settle there.

The evidence of these principles was not to be controverted: they were complied with after great debates. The Americans were permitted to manufacture their own cloths themselves; but with such restrictions, as betrayed how much avarice regretted, what an appearance of justice could not but allow. All communication from one province to another on this account was severely prohibited. They were forbidden, under the heaviest penalties, to traffic from one to the other for wool of any sort, raw or manufactured. However, some manufacturers of hats ventured to break through these restrictions. To put a stop to what was termed a heinous disorderly practice, the parliament had recourse to that mean and cruel spirit of regulations. A workman was not empowered to set up for himself till after seven years apprenticeship; a master was not allowed to have more than two apprentices at a time, nor to employ any slave in his workshop.

Iron mines, which seem to put into men's hands the marks of their own independence, were laid under restrictions still more severe. It was not allowed to carry iron in bars, or rough lumps, any where but to the mother country. Without crucibles to melt it, or machines to bend it, without hammers or anvils

to fashion it, they had still less the liberty of converting it into steel.

Importation received still further restraints. All foreign vessels, unless in evident distress or danger of wreck, or freighted with gold or silver, were not to come into any of the ports of North America. Even British vessels are not admitted there, unless they come immediately from some port of that country. The shipping of the colonies going to Europe, are to bring back no merchandize but from the mother country, except wine from the Madciras and the Azores, and salt necessary for their fisheries.

All exportations were originally to terminate in Britain: but weighty reasons have determined the government to relax and abate this extreme severity. It is at present allowed to the colonists to carry directly south of Cape Finisterre, grain, meal, rice, vegetables, fruit, salt, fish, planks, and timber. All other productions belong exclusively to the mother country. Even Ireland, that furnished an advantageous vent for corn, flax, and pipe-staves, has been shut against them by an act of parliament of 1766.

The parliament, which is the representative of the nation, assumes the right of directing commerce in its whole extent throughout the British dominions. It is by that authority they pretend to regulate the connections between the mother country and the colonies; to maintain a communication, an advantageous reciprocal re-action, between the scattered parts of the immense empire. There should, in fact, be one power to appeal to, in order to determine finally upon the relations that may be useful or prejudicial to the general good of the whole society. The parliament, is the only body that can assume such an important power. But they ought to employ it to the advantage of every member of that confederated society. This is an

inviolable maxim, especially in a state where all the powers are formed and directed for the preservation of natural liberty.

They departed from that principle of impartiality, which alone can maintain the equal state of independence among the several members of a free government, when the colonies were obliged to vent in the mother country all their productions, even those which were not for its own consumption; when they were obliged to take from the mother country all kinds of merchandise, even those which came from foreign nations. This imperious and useless restraint loading the sales and purchases of the Americans with unnecessary and ruinous charges, has of course lessened their activity, and consequently diminished their profits; and it has been only for the purpose of enriching a few merchants, or some factors at home, that the rights and interests of the colonies have thus been sacrificed. All they owed to Britain for the protection they received from her, was but a preference in the sale and importation of all such of their commodities as she could consume; and a preference in the purchase and in the exportation of all such merchandise as came from her hands: So far all submission was a return of gratitude; beyond it, all obligation was violence.

It is thus that tyranny has given birth to contraband trade. Transgression is the first effect produced by unreasonable laws. In vain has it frequently been repeated to the colonies, that smuggling was contrary to the fundamental interest of their settlements, to all reason of government, and to the express intentions of law. In vain has it been continually laid down in public writings, that the subject who pays duty is oppressed by him who does not pay it; and that the fraudulent merchant rubs the fair trader by disappoint-

pointing him of his lawful profit. In vain have precautions been multiplied for preventing such frauds, and fresh penalties inflicted for the punishment of them. The voice of interest, reason, and equity, has prevailed over all the clamours and attempts of finance: Foreign importations smuggled into North America, amount to one third of those which pay duty.

An indefinite liberty, or merely a restraint within due bounds, will stop the prohibited engagements of which so much complaint has been made. Then the colonies will arrive at a state of affluence, which will enable them to discharge a weight of debt due to the mother country, amounting, perhaps, to 6,562,500 *l.* and to draw yearly from thence goods to the amount of 4,725,000 *l.* agreeable to the calculation of American consumption stated by the parliament of Great Britain in 1766. But instead of this pleasing prospect which one would imagine must of course arise from the constitution of the British government, was there any necessity, by a pretension not to be supported among a free people, to introduce into the colonies, with the hardships of taxation, the seeds of disorder and discord, and perhaps to kindle a flame which it is not so easy to extinguish as to light up?

XV.

Of the Taxation of the Colonies.

1. *The mother-country has attempted to establish taxes in the colonies of North America. Whether she had a right to do this?*

BRITAIN had just emerged from a war, as one may say universal, during which her fleets had planted the standard of victory over all the seas, and her conquests had enlarged her dominion with an immense territory in both the Indies. Such a sudden increase gave her in the eyes of all the world a splendour that must raise envy and admiration; but within herself she was continually reduced to grief at her triumphs. Crushed with a load of debt to the amount of 145,687,500*l.* that cost her an interest of 4,881,515*l.* 3*s.* 9*d.* a year, she was with difficulty able to support the current expences of the state, with a revenue of 10,500,000*l.* and that revenue, far from increasing, was not even secure of continuance.

The land was charged with a higher tax than it had ever been in time of peace. New duties on houses and windows undermined that sort of property; and an increase of stock on a review of the finances depressed the value of the whole. A terror had been struck even into luxury itself, by taxes heaped on plate, cards, dice, wines, and brandy. No further expectation was to be had from commerce, which paid in every port, at every issue for the merchandise of Asia, for the produce of America, for spices, silks, for every article of export or import, whether manufactured or unwrought. The prohibitions of heavy duties had fortunately restrained the abuses of spirit-
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nous liquors; but that was partly at the expence of the public revenue. It was thought amends would be made by one of those expedients which it is generally easy to find, but hazardous to look out for, among the objects of general consumption and absolute necessity. Duties were laid on the drink of the common people, on malt, cyder, and beer. Every spring was strained: every power of the body politic had been extended to its utmost stretch. Materials and workmanship had so prodigiously risen in price, that foreigners, whether rivals or conquered, which before had not been able to support a contest with the British, were enabled to supplant them in every market, even in their own ports. The commercial advantages of Britain with every part of the world could not be valued at more than 2,450,000 *l.* and that situation obliged her to draw from the balance 1,535,625 *l.* to pay the arrears of 51,187,500 *l.* which foreigners had placed in her public funds.

The crisis was a violent one. It was time to give the people some relief. They could not be eased by a diminution of expences, those being inevitable, either for the purpose of improving the conquests purchased by such a loss of blood and treasure; or to mitigate the feelings of the House of Bourbon, soured by the humiliations of the late war, and the sacrifices of the late peace. In default of other means, to manage with a steady hand as well the present security as future prosperity, the expedient occurred of calling in the colonies to the aid of the mother country, by making them bear a part of her burden. This determination seemed to be founded on reasons not to be controverted.

It is a duty imposed by the avowed maxims of all societies and of every age, on the different members which compose a state, to contribute towards all ex-

pences in proportion to their respective abilities. The security of the American provinces requires such a share of assistance from them, as may enable the mother country to protect them upon all occasions. It was to deliver them from the uneasiness that molested them, that Britain had engaged in a war which has multiplied her debts: they ought then to aid her in bearing or lessening the weight of that overcharge. At present, when they are freed of all apprehension from the attempts of a formidable adversary, which they have fortunately removed, can they without injustice refuse their deliverer, when her necessities are pressing, that money which purchased their preservation? Has not that generous protector, for a considerable time, granted encouragement to the improvement of their rich productions? Has she not lavished gratuitous advances of money, and does she not still lavish them on lands not yet cleared? Do not such benefits deserve to meet a return of relief and even of services?

Such were the motives that persuaded the British government that they had a right to establish taxation in the colonies. They availed themselves of the event of the late war, to assert this claim so dangerous to liberty. For if we attend to it, we shall find, that war, whether successful or not, serves always as a pretext for every usurpation of government; as if the heads of warring nations rather intended to reduce their subjects to more confirmed submission, than to make a conquest of their enemies. The American provinces were accordingly ordered to furnish the troops sent by the mother country for their security with a part of the necessaries required by an army. The apprehension of disturbing that agreement which is so necessary among ourselves, when surrounded by adversaries without, induced them to comply with
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the injunctions of the parliament; but with such prudence as not to speak of an act they could neither reject without occasioning civil dissention, nor recognise without exposing rights too precious to be forfeited. New-York alone ventured to disapprove the orders sent from Europe. Tho' the transgression was slight, it was punished as a disobedience by a suspension of her privileges.

It was most probable, that this attack made on the liberty of the colony would excite the remonstrance of all the rest. Either thro' want of attention or foresight, none of them complained. This silence was interpreted to proceed from fear, or from voluntary submission. Peace, that should lessen taxes every where, gave birth in the year 1764 to that famous stamp-act, which, by laying a duty on all marked paper, at the same time forbade the use of any other in public writings, whether judicial, or extrajudicial.

All the British colonies of the new continent revolted against this innovation, and their discontent manifested itself by signal acts. They entered into an agreement or conspiracy, the only one that suited moderate and civilized people, to forego all manufactures made up in the mother country, till the bill they complained of was repealed. The women, whose weakness was most to be feared, was the first to give up whatever Europe had before furnished them with either for parade or convenience. Animated by their example, the men rejected the commodities for which they were indebted to the old world. In the northern countries, they were found paying as much for the coarse stuffs made under their own inspection, as for fine cloths which were brought over the seas. They engaged not to eat lamb, that their flocks might increase, and in time be sufficient for the clothing of all the colonists. In the southern provinces, where

wool is scarce, and of an inferior quality, they were to dress themselves with cotton and flax furnished by their own climate. Agriculture was every where neglected, in order that the people might qualify themselves for the industry of the workshop.

This kind of indirect and passive opposition, which deserves to be imitated by all nations who may hereafter be aggrieved by the undue exercise of authority, produced the desired effect. The English manufacturers who had scarce any other vent for their goods than their own colonies, fell into that state of despondency which is the natural consequence of want of employment: and their complaints, which could neither be stifled nor concealed by administration, made an impression which proved favourable to the colonies. The stamp-act was repealed, after a violent struggle that lasted two years, and which in an age of fanaticism would doubtless have occasioned a civil war.

But the triumph of the colonies did not last long. The parliament had given up the point with the greatest reluctance: and it clearly appeared they had not laid aside their pretensions, when in 1767 they threw the duties which the stamp-act would have produced, upon all glass, lead, tea, colours, pasteboard, and stained paper, exported from England to America. Even the patriots themselves, who seemed most inclined to enlarge the authority of the mother country over the colonies, could not help condemning a tax, which in its consequences must affect the whole nation, by disposing numbers to apply themselves to manufactures, who ought to have been solely devoted to the improvement of lands. The colonists have not been the dupes of this, any more than of the first innovation. It has in vain been urged, that government had the power to impose what duties it thought proper upon imported goods, so long as it did not deprive the colonies of
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the liberty of manufacturing the articles subject to this new tax. This subterfuge has been considered as a derision, in respect to a people who, being devoted entirely to agriculture, and confined to trade only with the mother country, could not procure either by their own labour, or by their connections abroad, the necessary articles that were sold them at so high a price. They thought, when a tax was to be imposed, it was nothing more than a nominal distinction, whether it were levied in Europe, or America; and that their liberty was equally infringed by a duty laid upon commodities they really wanted, as by a tax upon stamped paper, which they had been made to consider as a necessary article. These intelligent people saw that government was inclined to deceive them, and thought it an indignity to suffer themselves to be the dupes either of force or fraud. It appeared to them the surest mark of weakness and degeneracy in the subjects of any nation, to wink at all the artful and violent measures adopted by government to corrupt and enslave them.

The dislike they have shewn to these new imposts, was not founded on the idea of their being exorbitant as they did not amount to more than about 1 s. 3 d. for each person: which could give no alarm to a very populous community, whose public expence never exceeded the annual sum of 157,500*l.*

It was not from any apprehension that the ease of their circumstances would be affected: since the security they derived from the provinces ceded by France in the last war; the increase of their trade with the savages; the enlargement of their whale and cod-fisheries, together with those of the shark and the seal; the right of cutting wood in the bay of Campeachy; the acquisition of several sugar-islands; the opportunities of carrying on a contraband trade with the neighbouring Spanish settlements: all these circumstances

of advantage were abundantly sufficient to compensate the small proportion of revenue which government seemed so anxious to raise.

It was not their concern lest the colonies should be drained of the small quantity of specie which continued in circulation. The pay of eight thousand four hundred regular troops, maintained by the mother country in North America, must bring much more coin into the country than the tax could carry out of it.

It was not an indifference towards the mother country. The colonies far from being ungrateful, have demonstrated so zealous an attachment to her interests during the last war, that parliament had the equity to order considerable sums to be remitted to them by way of restitution or indemnification.

Nor, lastly, was it ignorance of the obligations that subjects owe to government. Had not even the colonies acknowledged themselves bound to contribute towards the payment of the national debt, though they had, perhaps, been the occasion of contracting the greatest part of it; they knew very well, that they were liable to contribute towards the expences of the navy, the maintenance of the African and American settlements, and to all the common expenditures relative to their own preservation and prosperity, as well as to that of the capital.

If the Americans refuse to lend their assistance to Europe, it is because what need only have been asked was exacted from them; and because what was required of them as a matter of obedience, ought to have been raised by voluntary contribution. Their refusal was not the effect of caprice; but of jealousy of their rights, which have been confirmed in some judicious writings, and more particularly in some eloquent letters, from which

we shall borrow the principal facts we are going to state on a subject which must be interesting to every nation on the globe.

During almost two centuries that have passed since the English established themselves in North America, their country has been harrassed by expensive and bloody wars; thrown into confusion by enterprising and turbulent parliaments; and governed by a bold and corrupt ministry, every ready to raise the power of the crown upon the ruin of all the privileges and rights of the people. But notwithstanding the influence of ambition, avarice, faction, and tyranny, the liberty of the colonies to raise their own taxes for the support of the public revenue hath on all hands been acknowledged and regarded.

This privilege, so natural and consonant to the fundamental principles of all rational society, was confirmed by a solemn compact. The colonies might appeal to their original charters, which authorise them to tax themselves freely and voluntarily. These acts were in truth, nothing more than agreements made with the crown; but even supposing that the prince had exceeded his authority by making concessions which certainly did not turn to his advantage, long possession tacitly owned and acknowledged by the silence of parliament, must constitute a legal prescription.

The American provinces have still more authentic claims to urge in their favour. They assert that a subject of England, in whatever hemisphere he resides, is not obliged to contribute to the expences of the state without his own consent, given either by himself or his representatives. It is in the defence of this sacred right that the nation has so often spilt her blood dethroned her kings, and either excited or opposed numberless commotions. Will she chuse to dispute with two millions of her children, an advantage which

has cost her so dear, and is perhaps the sole foundation of her own independence?

It is urged against the colonies, that the Roman Catholics residing in England are excluded from the right of voting, and that their estates are subjected to a double tax. The colonists ask in reply, why the papists refuse to take the oaths of allegiance required by the state? This conduct makes them suspected by government, and the jealousy it excites authorises that government to treat them with rigour. Why not abjure a religion so contrary to the free constitution of their country, so favourable to the inhuman claims of despotism, and to the attempts of the crown against the rights of the people? Why that blind prepossession in favour of a church which is an enemy to all others? *They* deserve the penalties which the state that tolerates them imposes upon subjects of intolerant principles. But the inhabitants of the new world would be punished without having offended, if they were not able to become subjects without ceasing to be Americans.

These faithful colonies have likewise been told with some confidence, that there are multitudes of subjects in Britain who are not represented; because they have not the property required to entitle them to vote at an election for members of parliament: What ground have they to expect any greater privileges than those enjoyed by the subjects of the mother country? The colonies, in answer to this, deny that they wish for superior indulgences; they only want to share them in common with their brethren. In Great Britain, a person who enjoys a free hold, of forty shillings a year is consulted in the framing of a tax-bill, and shall not the man who possesses an immense tract of land in America have the same privilege? No: That which is an exception to a law, a deviation from the general rule

rule of the mother country, ought not to become a fundamental point of constitution for the colonies. Let the English, who wish to deprive the provinces in America of the right of taxing themselves, suppose for a moment, that the house of commons, instead of being chosen by them, is an hereditary and established tribunal; or even arbitrarily appointed by the crown; if this body could levy taxes upon the whole nation without consulting the public opinion and the general inclinations of the people, would not the English look upon themselves to be as much slaves as any other nation? However, even in this case, five hundred men, surrounded by seven millions of their fellow-subjects, might be kept within the bounds of moderation, if not by a principle of equity, at least by a well-grounded apprehension of the public resentment, which pursues the oppressors of their country even beyond the grave. But the case of Americans taxed by the great council of the mother country would be irremediable. At too great a distance to be heard, they would be oppressed with taxes without regard to their complaint. Even the tyranny exercised towards them would be varnished over with the glorious appellation of patriotism. Under pretence of relieving the mother country, the colonies would be overburdened with impunity.

2. Whether the colonies should submit to be taxed.

WITH this alarming prospect before them, they will never submit to give up the right of taxing themselves. So long as they debate freely on the subject of public revenue, their interests will be attended to; or if their rights should sometimes be violated, they will soon obtain a redress of their grievances. But their remonstrances will no longer have any weight

with government, when they are not the right of granting or refusing money exigences of the state. The same power have usurped the right of levying taxes and usurp the distribution of them. As in proportion they shall raise, it will likewise that shall be laid out; and the sums assigned for their service, will be employed on them. Such has been the progression in all ages. No society ever preserved its liberty if it had lost the privilege of voting in the election or establishment of laws relative to the nation must for ever be enslaved, in which the assembly or body of men remains who have the power to defend its rights against the encroachments of the state by which it is governed.

The provinces in British America have an imagination to dread the loss of their independence. Even their confidence may betray them and they fall a prey to the designs of the mother country. They are inhabited by an infinite number of simple and upright people, who have no suspicion that those who hold the reins of empire can be hurried by unjust and tyrannical passions. They are so much attached to the rights granted that their country cherishes the most tender of maternal tenderness which are so contrary to true interests, and to the love and veneration they entertain for her. To the unsuspecting confidence of these honest subjects, who cherish a just sense of duty and a just delusion, may be added the acquiescence in the payment of taxes they think it not worth while to trouble themselves about the account of inconsiderable taxes. These people do not perceive that the plan was, and is, to keep their vigilance asleep by imposing a tax that Britain only wanted to establish a submission, upon which it might ground

tensions; that if the parliament has been able to raise one guinea, it can raise ten thousand; and that there will be no more reason to limit this right, than there would be justice in acknowledging it at present. But the greatest injury to liberty arises from a set of ambitious men, who, pursuing an interest distinct from that of the public and of posterity, are wholly bent on increasing their credit, their rank, and their estates. The British ministry, from whom they have procured employments, or expect to receive them, finds them always ready to favour their odious projects, by the contagion of their luxury and their vices, by their artful insinuations and the flexibility of their conduct.

Let all true patriots then firmly oppose the snares of prejudice, indolence, and seduction; nor let them despair of being victorious in a contest in which their virtue has engaged them. Attempts will, perhaps, be made to shake their fidelity, by the plausible proposal of allowing their representatives a seat in parliament, in order to regulate, in conjunction with those of the mother country, the taxes to be raised by the nation at large. Such, indeed, is the extent, populousness, wealth, and importance, of the colonies, that the legislature cannot govern them with wisdom and safety without availing itself of the advice and information of their representatives. But care should be taken not to authorise these deputies to decide in matters concerning the fortune and the contributions of their constituents. The expostulations of a few men would be easily overborne by the numerous representatives of the mother country; and the provinces, whose instruments they would be, would, in this confused jumble of interests and opinions, be laden with too heavy and too unequal a part of the common burden. Let, then, the right of appointing,

proportioning, and raising the taxes, continue to be exclusively vested in the provincial assemblies; who ought to be the more jealous of it at the present juncture, as the power of depriving them of it seems to have gained strength by the conquests made in the last war.

From its late acquisitions, the mother country has derived the advantage of extending her fisheries, and strengthening her alliance with the savages. But as if this success passed for nothing in her estimation, she persists in declaring, that this increase of territory has answered no end, and produced no effect, but to secure the tranquillity of the colonies. The colonies, on the contrary, maintain, that their lands, on which their whole welfare depended, have decreased considerably in their value by this immense extent of territory; that, their population being diminished, or at least not increased, their country is the more exposed to invasions; and that the most northern provinces are rivalled by Canada, and the most southern by Florida. The colonists, who judge of future events by the history of the past, even go so far as to say, that the military government established in the conquered provinces, the numerous troops maintained, and the forts erected there, may one day contribute to enslave countries which have hitherto flourished only upon the principles of liberty.

Great Britain possesses all the authority over her colonies that she ought to wish for. She has a right to disannul any laws they shall make. The executive power is entirely lodged in the hands of her delegates; and in all determinations of a civil nature, an appeal lies to her tribunal. She regulates at discretion all commercial connections, which are allowed to be formed and pursued by the colonists. To strain an authority so wisely tempered, would be to plunge a
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rising continent afresh into that state of confusion from which it had with difficulty emerged in the course of two centuries of incessant labour; and to reduce the men, who had laboured to clear the ground, to the necessity of taking up arms in the defence of those sacred rights to which they are equally entitled by nature and the laws of society. Shall the British, who are so passionately fond of liberty, that they have sometimes protected it in regions widely remote in climate and interest, forget those sentiments which their glory, their virtue, their natural feelings, and their security, conspire to render a perpetual obligation? Shall they so far betray the rights they hold so dear, as to wish to enslave their brethren and their children? If, however, it should happen, that the spirit of faction should devise so fatal a design, and should, in an hour of madness and intoxication, get it patronized by the mother country, what steps ought the colonies to take to save themselves from the state of the most odious dependence?

3. *How far the Colonies ought to carry their opposition to taxation.*

BEFORE they turn their eyes on this political combustion, they will recall to memory all the advantages they owe to their country. Britain has always been their barrier against the powerful nations of Europe; and served as a guide and moderator to watch over their preservation and to heal those civil dissensions which jealousy and rivalry too frequently excite between neighbouring plantations in their rising state. It is to the influence of its excellent constitution that they owe the peace and prosperity they enjoy. While the colonies live under so salutary and mild an administration, they will continue to make a rapid progress in

the vast field of improvement that opens itself to their view, and which their industry will extend to the remotest deserts.

Let the love of their country, however, be accompanied with a certain jealousy of their liberties; and let their rights be constantly examined into, cleared up, and discussed. Let them never fail to consider those as the best citizens, who are perpetually calling their attention to those points. This spirit of jealousy is proper in all free states; but it is particularly necessary in complicated governments, where liberty is blended with a certain degree of dependence, such as is required in a connection between countries separated by an immense ocean. This vigilance will be the surest guardian of the union which ought strongly to cement the mother country and her colonies.

If the ministry, which is always composed of ambitious men, even in a free state, should attempt to increase the power of the crown, or the opulence of the mother country, at the expense of the colonies, the colonies ought to resist such an usurping power with unremitting spirit. When any measure of government meets with a warm opposition, it seldom fails to be rectified; while grievances, which are suffered for want of courage to redress them, are constantly succeeded by fresh instances of oppression. Nations, in general, are more apt to feel than to reflect; and have no other ideas of the legality of a power than the very exercise of that power. Accustomed to obey without examination, they in general become familiarized to the hardships of government; and being ignorant of the origin and design of society, do not conceive the idea of setting bounds to authority. In those states especially, where the principles of legislation are confounded with those of religion, as one extravagant opinion opens the door for the reception of a thousand
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among those who have been once deceived, so the first encroachments of government pave the way for all the rest. He who believes the most believes the least; and he who can perform the most, performs the least: and to this double mistake, in regard either to belief or power, it is owing that all the absurdities and ill practices in religion and politics have been introduced into the world, in order to oppress the human species. The spirit of toleration and of liberty which has hitherto prevailed in the British colonies, has happily preserved them from falling into this extreme of folly and misery. They have too high a sense of the dignity of human nature not to resist oppression, though at the hazard of their lives.

A people so intelligent do not want to be told, that desperate resolutions and violent measures cannot be justifiable till they have in vain tried every possible method of reconciliation. But, at the same time, they know, that, if they are reduced to the necessity of chusing slavery or war, and taking arms in defence of their liberty, they ought not to tarnish so glorious a cause with all the horrors and cruelties attendant on sedition; and though resolved not to sheathe the sword till they have recovered their rights, that they should make no other use of their victory than to procure the re-establishment of their original state of legal independence.

Let us, however, take care not to confound the resistance which the British colonies ought to make to their mother country, with the fury of a people excited to revolt against their sovereign by a long series of excessive oppression. When the slaves of an arbitrary monarch have once broken their chain, and submitted their fate to the decision of the sword, they are obliged to massacre the tyrant, to exterminate his whole race, and to change the form of that govern-

ment under which they have suffered for many ages. If they venture not thus far, they will sooner or later be punished for having been courageous only by halves. The blow will be retorted upon them with greater force than ever; and the affected clemency of their tyrants will only prove a new snare, in which they will be caught and entangled without hope of deliverance. It is the misfortune of factions in an absolute government, that neither prince nor people set any bounds to their resentment; because they know none in the exercise of their power. But a constitution qualified like that of the British colonies, carries in its principles and the limitation of its power a remedy and preservative against the evils of anarchy. When the mother country has removed their complaints by reinstating them in their former situation, they ought to proceed no further; because such a situation is the happiest that a wise people have a right to aspire to.

4 Whether it would be of use to the Colonies to break through the ties which unite them to the mother country.

THEY could not embrace a plan of absolute independence, without breaking thro' the ties of religion, oaths, laws, language, relation, interest, trade, and habit, which unite them together under the mild authority of the mother country. Is it to be imagined that such avulsion would not affect the heart, the vitals, and even the life of the colonies? If they should stop short of the violence of civil wars, would they easily be brought to agree upon a new form of government! If each settlement composed a distinct state, what divisions would ensue! We may judge of the animosities that would arise from their separation by the

the fate of all communities which nature has made to border on each other. But, could it be supposed that so many settlements, where a diversity of laws, different degrees of opulence, and variety of possessions, would sow the latent seeds of an opposition of interests, were desirous of forming a confederacy; how would they adjust the rank which each would aspire to hold, and the influence it ought to have, in proportion to the risk it incurred, and the forces it supplied? Would not the same spirit of jealousy, and a thousand other passions, which in a short time divided the wise states of Greece, raise discord between a multitude of colonies associated rather by the transient and brittle ties of passion and resentment, than by the sober principles of a natural and lasting combination? All these considerations seem to demonstrate, that an eternal separation from the mother country would prove a very great misfortune to the British colonies.

g. *Whether it would be proper for the European nations to endeavour to render the British colonies independent of the mother country.*

We will go one step further and affirm that, were it in the power of the European nations who have possessions in the new world to effect this great revolution, it is not their interest to wish it. This will, perhaps, be thought a paradox by those powers who see their colonies perpetually threatened with an invasion from their neighbours. They, doubtless, imagine, that if the power of the British in America were lessened, they should peaceably enjoy their acquisitions, which frequently excite their envy, and invite them to hostilities. It cannot be denied, that their influence in these distant regions arises from the extent

or populousness of their northern provinces; which enable them always to attack with advantage the islands and continental possessions of other nations, to conquer their territories, or ruin their trade. But, after all, this crown has interests in other parts of the globe which may counteract their progress in America, restrain or retard their enterprises, and frustrate their conquests by the restitutions they will be obliged to make.

When the ties subsisting between old and new Britain are once broken, the northern colonies will have more power when single, than when united with the mother country. This great continent, freed with all connections with Europe, will have the full command of all its motions. It will then become an important as well as an easy undertaking to them, to invade those territories whose riches will make amends for the scantiness of their productions. By the independent nature of its situation, it will be enabled to get every thing in readiness for an invasion, before any account arrives in Europe. This nation will carry on their military operations with the spirit peculiar to new societies. They may make choice of their enemies, and conquer where and when they please. Their attacks will always be made upon such coasts as are liable to be taken by surprise, and upon those seas that are least guarded by foreign powers; who will find the countries they wished to defend conquered before any succours can arrive. It will be impossible to recover them by treaty, without making great concessions; or, when recovered for a time, to prevent their falling again under the same yoke. The colonies belonging to our absolute monarchies, will, perhaps, be inclined to meet a master with open arms, who cannot propose harder terms than their own government imposes; or, after the example of the
British

British colonies, will break the chain that rivets them so ignominiously to Europe.

Let no motive by any means prevail upon the nations who are rivals to Britain, either by insinuations, or by clandestine helps, to hasten a revolution, which would only deliver them from a neighbouring enemy, by giving them a much more formidable one at a distance. Why accelerate an event which must one day naturally take place from the unavoidable concurrence of so many others? For it would be contrary to the nature of things, if the province, subject to a presiding nation, should continue under its dominion, when equal to it in riches and the number of inhabitants. Or, indeed, who can tell whether this disunion may not happen sooner? Is it not likely, that the distrust and hatred which have of late taken place of that regard and attachment which the provinces formerly felt for the parent country, may bring on a separation? Thus every thing conspires to produce this great disruption, the æra of which it is impossible to know. Every thing tends to this point; the progress of good in the new hemisphere, and the progress of evil in the old.

Alas! the sudden and rapid decline in our manners and our powers, the crimes of princes, and the sufferings of the people, will make this fatal catastrophe, which is to divide one part of the globe from the other, universal. The foundations of our tottering empires are sapped; materials are hourly collecting and preparing for their destruction, composed of the ruins of our laws, the ferment of contending opinions, and the subversion of our rights which were the foundation of our courage; the luxury of our courts, and the miseries of the country; the lasting animosity between indolent men who engross all the wealth, and vigorous and even virtuous men who have noth-

ing to lose but their lives. In proportion as our people are weakened and resign themselves to each other's dominion, population and agriculture will flourish in America: the arts, transplanted by our means, will make a rapid progress; and that country, rising out of nothing, will be fired with the ambition of appearing with glory, in its turn, on the face of the globe, and in the history of the world. O posterity! ye, peradventure, will be more happy than your unfortunate and contemptible ancestors. May this last wish be accomplished, and console the present expiring race with the hopes that a better will succeed it!

F I N I S.



